

KUKA MOVEMENT AND THE MACNABB REPORT



Jaswinder Singh

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KUKA MOVEMENT AND THE MACNABB REPORT

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KUKA MOVEMENT AND THE MACNABB REPORT

Editor
Jaswinder Singh



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KUKA MOVEMENT AND THE MACNABB REPORT

by

JASWINDER SINGH

2348-B, Raja Park,
Shakur Basti, DELHI-110034.
Mobile: 09810217695

Arsee Publishers, 51 Parda Bagh, Darya Ganj, New Delhi-2

Website : www.arseepublishers.com

E-mail : arseepublishers@rediffmail.com

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**DEDICATED TO
THE SUBAS OF GURU RAM SINGH
WHO SUFFERED CONFINEMENTS
AND LAID THEIR LIVES FOR THE
INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA**



Sri Satguru Ram Singh ji with his influential Subas

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FOREWORD

The struggle of the Kuka Sikhs against British rule is critically studied by scholars of Sikh Studies. They are well-known academicians but stand beyond the frontiers of the Namdharis. There are other important attempts by the members of the faith to communicate the message of the community to the wider world. In course of last few decades, the number of the community has significantly increased with Bahini Sahib (Ludhiana) at its epicentre. It has become a significant voice within the larger Sikh Panth and stimulated its followers to redefine some of important ideals and institutions of the faith. They have brought out a few important publications, particularly in Punjabi, so that its distinct domain could be better appreciated by other sections of the Sikh Panth.

There is another domain of studying the history of the Namdhari past. It points to a critical journey of studying enormous mass of British records preserved in National Archives, New Delhi. These introduce scholars to many unfamiliar domains of the community and made them aware of the significance of their resistance against British rule. It possibly goes to the credit of Sardar Nahar Singh of begining of process and bringing out three volumes, all devoted to the Kuka past. These are invaluable source materials outlining important details for the historian of the Kuka Movement and provide elaborate exposition of why the movement had started within a few years following the end of the Khalsa Raj.

I had the privilege of knowing S. Jaswinder Singh ji when he was working with Sardar Nahar Singh in the National archives.

He has inherited many of his mentor's commitment to hard work and critical assessment of records which are evident in his brief introductory note to the volume. Already Mr. Singh has to his credit a few scholarly contributions depicting the struggling years of the Kukas of the nineteenth century. The present volume is the seventh in the series which deals with many important findings of the British official Macnabb who was deputed to enquire of the nature of the British involvement in suppressing the struggle of the Kukas in the early 1870s.

The archival materials portray the view point of the British government of the period. It describes the struggling Kukas as 'regues' who were also 'disturbing peace' of rural Punjab. The colonial government needed 'justification' in favour of its barbaric stand against the Kuka soldiers of faith. They were guided by a vision that their struggle against the British is blessed by the Guru. Their fight would pull down the edifice of the 'oppressive present' and replace it by the restoration of the Khalsa Raj. They were swayed by a vision that it was a struggle between two opposite forces: one is just and its enemies were symbols of tyranny and unjust and, therefore, the latter would go down by the determined intervention of the former who were struggling for the restoration of the golden days of the Khalsa. In spite of its looking back, it struggled for a change in Punjab when sizable sections of the landed aristocracy were emphasizing loyalty to British rule. The Kukas were dissenters and hoped for a change which would restore peace and prosperity in the province. In other words, their perception of bringing peace in Punjab was significantly different from that of the British. It challenged the political *status quo* and demanded a better place under the Sun.

On the other hand, the British regarded Punjab as one of its special preserve so that it could recruit enough soldiers at a cheaper price for the protection of British Empire in India in the post-Great Mutiny years. The province was comparatively 'peaceful' during the tumultuous years of the mid-1850s. A significant section of

Punjabis had rallied under the British flag and helped the British in getting back its lost possession in the east of the Yamuna. The British was determined to maintain rural peace for the larger interest of her imperial rule. It grew paranoid if it had to face another revolt from Punjab which had earlier strongly defended the empire. During these years, the colonial administration suffered from a mentality of 'illusion of permanence' of British rule in the subcontinent. It was utterly ready to go to any extent so there could not be any further challenge to its authority in Punjab. Out of its prevailing intolerant mindset, the Kuka fighters were militarily negotiated. It enacted with an unparalleled imperial brutality which would remind Punjabis of what the colonial rulers had again done in 1919. There are many writers who talk of *Punjabiyat* under British rule. The present volume highlights that perilous aspect of *Punjabiyat* which is often missed by scholars who are outsiders of the faith. The edito of the volume deserves congratulations for elaborating the point and making it available for the larger readership who would be interested to know more of the Kukas' glorious past.

Himadri Banerjee

INTRODUCTION

History of the Kuka Movement is a long living history of sacrifice and struggle in the cause of culture and freedom struggle. Kukas were blown off with the guns, hanged publically and chief leaders of the movement were exiled from Punjab. Remaining were persecuted ones from village to village and province to province. They were the wounded souls of the Punjab in the post-annexation period.

The Britishers took over hundred years to consolidate their power in India. Punjab came under the British control only in 1849 after the IInd Anglo-Sikh war. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, the affairs of the Lahore Durbar fell into less competent and weak hands. The Lahore court factions now came into full play and created an atmosphere of intrigue and counter intrigue. Political instability of the Lahore kingdom resulted in first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845. Khalsa army was defeated and British troops arrived in Lahore. Maharaja Dalip Singh who was only a child of seven and a half years was absolutely helpless to do anything. British resident at Lahore took over the control of Punjab in all matters and departments and also became the sole guardian of the person and property of the infant Maharaja.

After that British Government decided to put an end to the independence of Punjab and to annex it into the British dominion. After the trouble of Multan in 1848, British Army moved into the

Punjab, Final battle between the British forces and the Sikh army of Atariwala Sardars was fought at Gujrat on 21st Feb. 1849. Sikh army was defeated and few days later on 14th of March Sikh soldiers with tears in their eyes kissed their swords and laid them down never to see them again. They were, with choked throats exclaiming 'today is Ranjit Singh dead.' This sealed the fate of Punjab for almost century to come fulfilling Sir Henry Harding's wish - 'We must bear in mind that by the treaty of Lahore March 1846, the Punjab never was intended to be an independent State.'

After that Henry Elliot, Foreign Secretary of Lord Dalhousie was sent Lahore for the final transaction with instruction. Henry Elliot informed the Council of Regency the decision of the British Government to annex Punjab into the British Empire and asked them to give their final assent with the warning 'if they refused to sign, they would lose everything which the British Government chose to resume'. Therefore, the Council of Regency left with no choice but to helplessly sign in the Durbar on the fatal document 'THE TERMS GRANTED TO AND ACCEPTED BY MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH'. After this Maharaja, under compulsion, affixed his signatures. Ten and a half year old Maharaja Dalip Singh deprived of his crown and kingdom. This is how Punjab had lost her independence.

Less than ten years when Punjab had lost her independence, a serious challenge came to the British imperialism when an ex-soldier of the Khalsa army, Guru Ram Singh started a movement on the Baisakhi day, Sambat 1914 i.e. 12 April 1857 to expel the Britishers out of his motherland. This remarkable movement was called as 'Kuka Movement' in the history of freedom struggle of India.

The founder of this important movement Guru Ram Singh was a man of great personal charm and imagination and many fine qualities found in the leaders. He came from a poor carpenter's family of village Bhaini Ala [now called as Sri Bhaini Sahib] of

district Ludhiana, Punjab. His father Baba Jassa Singh and mother Sada Kaur lived with four children quietly in the village. His father was a religious man. Baba Jassa Singh's elder son Ram Singh was born on Basant Panchmi day of Sambat 1872 [Feb. 1816 A.D.]. When he was about twenty one years old, he joined the Khalsa Army as irregular soldier and remained in service till Dec. 1845. He was attached to a Regiment called after the name of Kunwar Nao Nihal Singh, a grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After the death of the Maharaja in 1839, the affairs of the Lahore kingdom fell into less competent and weak hands. Within six years more than 36 Sardars and Darbaris were murdered. Guru Ram Singh could not tolerate the worst situation. When the first Anglo-Sikh war broke out in 1845, he left the camp before crossing the Satluj river at Hari-Ke and came back to his village Bhaini.

After returning home, Guru had made a deep meditation on the whole new situation. His heart was really elsewhere. During the army service he saw the cunning plots of the Britishers and the downfall of the Sikh Empire. After the annexation, new Government disbanded the Khalsa Army, new assessment of land revenue was ordered and arrangements were made for the introduction of a new system of Courts and schools. Guru Ram Singh deeply meditated on the whole new situation and in 1857, he started a movement against the British imperialism to drive them out and to re-establish the Sikh Raj on 12 April 1857. He also included in his programmes and preaching religious and social reforms also because the religious and social movements were not objectionable in the eyes of the new government.

The unfurling of white flag and the establishment of the Kuka Movement were not merely steps to tone up social and religious life of the people, but also the inauguration of a political movement. For a few years after its foundation, Guru Ram Singh carried on his political work quietly. He himself showed the keen interest in reaching out to the people to deliver his political aims personally to them. It was only in 1863 when the Government first came alive

to Guru's political implication. In June 1863 when Guru Ram Singh was holding a meeting at village Khote and introducing the new 'Arand Marriage' ceremony, on the report of the village chowkidar, police became active and took Guru Ram Singh into custody and banned all his further meetings till further orders and confined him in his own village.

These restrictions remained till March 1867. In spite of restrictions on the movements of Guru Ram Singh, Kuka Movement was on increase. In the year 1871 murderous attacks were made on the butcher houses at Amritsar and Raikot on the issue of kine killing by the Kukas and killed some butchers. Some Kukas were arrested and hanged publically at Amritsar, Raikot and Ludhiana. Government knew that the Kukas had ulterior political objects and Guru Ram Singh was behind the murders. Government tried to establish links of the Kuka Guru with the recent attacks on the butchers, but failed. However, Govt. again imposed restrictions on Guru Ram Singh on 31 Dec. 1871 on moving out of his village Bhaini without prior permission. That was why the Maghi fair was celebrated in his village for the first time. At the end of the fair, a band of about 150 mastanas separated themselves and made up their mind first to attack on the Maler-Kotla and then to Nabha, Jind and Patiala to overthrow the English rule and re-establish the Khalsa Raj.

The Kuka band of mastanas under the command of Hira Singh and Lehna Singh of Sakraudi village, disobeyed the order of their Guru not to make disturbance, attacked Malaud and Maler Kotla. Some people from the both sides were killed and wounded. Sixty eight Kukas, including, two women, were arrested and brought to Maler-Kotla parade ground. British Government took it seriously and considered an attack on the Kotla as an attack on their sovereignty. Sixty six Kukas were blown off with the guns and remaining two women were handed over to the Patiala police. Guru Ram Singh, along with his ten influential Subas, was arrested and sent to Allahabad and detained in the fort till further orders in

January 1872. In Punjab precautions were taken by the Government and the remaining followers of the Kuka leader were put under strict police surveillance and the assemblage of more than five was prohibited. Their movements were carefully watched by the police and the headmen of the villages throughout the province.

The residence of Guru Ram Singh was thoroughly searched for arms, treasure and papers. No arm or paper of importance was found from the premises. The search conducted by Lt. Col. Baillie, Deputy Inspector General of Lahore circle, continued for two days. The Lamberdars of the area and village Bhaini Sahib informed Mr. Baillie that the arms and treasure of at least two lakhs were believed to be buried in the residence. Therefore, few days later the search of the residence of Kuka Guru was, second time, conducted by Mr. Jackson, Adjutant Supdt. of Police, digging up the ground to a considerable depth wherever he thought it likely that arms or treasure might be buried, but no trace of either was found. However, a permanent police post, consisting of twenty policemen, was set up at the main gate of the Dehra.

After two months, British Government asked for an inquiry into the cases of Kuka Suba prisoners who were confined in the Allahabad fort. The object of inquiry was to know the guilt of each Kuka prisoner and their seditious preaching against the Queen. Earlier, Guru Ram Singh was brought out of the fort and despatched to Rangoon (now called as Yangon) on 10 March 1872. It was stated in the inquiry file that 'the object with which Mr. Macnabb inquiry was ordered was that the Government of India might be in possession of full and sufficient evidence to support if desired necessary, "the detention of Ram Singh's suobahs after excitement immediately arising out of the recent occurrences in the Umbala Division has passed away."

It was ordered that the 'officer conducting the inquiry should collect the evidence and the defence of the prisoners, and make a summary of the evidence in each man's case, and that he should

also express his opinion as to degree of guilt attaching to each of the several prisoners, and the expediency or otherwise of releasing him.'

One man inquiry into the cases of the Kuka Subas was set up in accordance with the directions of the Indian Government, and James Macnabb, who had worked as Officiating Commissioner of the Ambala Division during the greater part of 1871, and had best reliable information and opinion on the position of the Kuka sect and its leaders, was specially deputed for this purpose in March 1872 and asked to submit his report with the least possible delay. Mr. James Macnabb called for the reports and information from the District Police Supdts. testifying the seditious meetings and antecedents in their respective areas and depositions of certain Lambardars, Zaildars, chowkidars and headmen of the villages concerned. These police reports and depositions contain many interesting information and are being published here for the knowledge and help of the historians and writers concerned with the Kuka history.

Mr. Macnabb submitted his detailed report to the authorities concerned in June 1872 which was discussed by the officers and asked the Punjab Government as well as the Government of India to express their opinion whether the prisoners in question were to be tried according to the ordinary law in the open Court or treated under the same provision of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 under which Kuka leader Gura Ram Singh was confined as 'State Prisoner'. The opinion of the Government was 'my own at present is against trial, the notoriety of the things will tempt barristers to try and make a reputation. Native witnesses are uncertain, and a failure would do infinite mischief.' The Governor General gave his remarks - 'I am against trial, if it can be avoided; I say this with great regret. But there is no overlooking the fact that, whenever, a trial for political crimes takes place, there are unhappily found English Barristers who, not content with justly defending their clients (which is quite right), go beyond all legitimate bounds

and raise a sort of political excitement, very detrimental to the minds of our Native people.' The ultimate conclusion was that the Kuka prisoners were not to bring into the public trial but were to be dealt under the provision of Article-III of the Bengal Regulation 1818 in which Govt. of India could detain the prisoner concerned for indefinite period without trial and without giving any reason. In view of above, it was decided that the Kuka prisoners confined in the Allahabad Fort were not to bring under open trial but were to be detained as 'State Prisoners'. About their place of confinement, it was decided that – 'As to the place of confinement to be selected, it is clear that Allahabad is, for many reasons, unfit for this purpose. It seems to me, moreover, that if possible, the six men indicated as leaders viz. Lukka Singh, Sahib Singh, Jowahir Singh, Brahma Singh, Kahn Singh and Mungal Singh should be, like Ram Singh, removed beyond the peninsula of India. Proper, beyond, that is, of all possible reach by correspondence or otherwise of their adherents in Punjab....three might, perhaps, be sent to Moulmein and three to Akyab....remaining five, either Asirgarh or Channar would, apparently, suit, or they might be divided between the two places.,

Taking into the consideration, the Government of India vide their letter dated 31st October 1872, divided the Kuka prisoners as under:-

- a) Jowahir Singh, Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh were removed to Moulmein, British Burma (now called as Myanmar).
- b) Prisoners Rur Singh, Mulluk Singh and Pahara Singh sent to Asirgarh, and
- c) Prisoner Man Singh and Hukma Singh were ordered to be confined in the Channar fort.

The Warrants of all the above prisoners were issued under Regulation-III of 1818 and sent with the Kuka state prisoner to the authorities concerned. Remaining three Kuka prisoners, Sahib

Singh, Kahn Singh and Sardar Mungal Singh were kept at Allahabad pending further instructions.

Sardar Mungal Singh had taken the services of an English barrister against his arrest under Article-III of 1818. Therefore, Sardar was not to be removed anywhere from Allahabad till the decision of the case. Remaining two prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh ordered for their confinement at Aden.

As already stated before, Mr. Macnabb, the only member enquiring into the cases of the Kuka prisoners confined in the Allahabad fort, had called for the detailed reports and information in respect of the prisoners in question from the concerned Police Officers, Zaildars, Lamberdars and chowkidars to find out the guilt of their seditious preaching and activities against the British Government in these inquiry reports and depositions one can find many interesting and new information in respect of the Kuka movement and the preaching of their leaders to aware the people to expel the Britishers from their motherland and to revive the Khalsa Raj which are very interesting and useful for the historians and scholars working on the Kuka movement and freedom struggle of India. Some characteristics in this report are:

- i) Sahib Singh has preached sedition, encouraged the last outbreak, and has taken next to Ram Singh the leading part in propagating the spread of the Kuka sect, of which the avowed subject and consummation is the restoration of the Sikh rule and the expulsion of the British Government.
- ii) Nothing could be ascertained as to arms, but Ram Singh told that when they were wanted, they would be forthcoming.

-Report of the informer Geindah Singh.

- iii) During Sumbut 1928 the distinctive arms of the Kukas would be small axes or hatches but in the following year, all description of arms would be supplied to them by the "Gooroo Sahib" to whom all things are possible.....

-Report of D.S.P. Gujranwala dated 29th March 1871.

- iv) That in Sumbut 1928 the weapons of the 'Namdhari's' would be clubs and axes or hatches and in Sumbut 1929 all the weapons of war would be given to them, and they would want for nothing.....

-Statement of Insp. Fuzul Kadir Khan of Hoti Mardan, Peshawar dated June 1871.

- v) This was also heard that iron was being purchased and it was intended to make swords when occasion required by their own followers.

-Statements of Zaildars and Lamberdars of Phillour.

- vi) Their Guru, Ram Singh had declared for the restoration of the Khalsa. I asked them what they could do without arms or anything else, they said that the Guru had only to give orders, the arms would be theirs.

-Deposition of Ganesha Singh,
Lamberdar of Dangarh.

- vii) He (Brahma Singh) said they were to collect in a corner of the kingdom at Anandpore and commence operation in two or three monthes time. He said that Ram Singh had a collection of arms in his house.

-Deposition of Lamberdar Kootubdeen of Barial, Sealkot.

- viii) They constantly preached sedition against the British Government and frequently consulted at their durbars concerning the proper time they ought to rise against the British Government. A large number of Kukas sold their lands and property and paid the proceeds to Ram

Singh at the suggestion of his Soobas..... The number of Kookas, as represented by Ram Singh's Soobas, is 4,30,500 men.

-Deposition of Deva Singh of
Katani Kallan, Ludhiana.

- ix) In Kartik the Khalsa Raj would begin, that they are about to arm themselves.....He gave it to be understood that the new reign was to be established by force.

-Arjun Lamberdar of Ala,
Sealkot.

- x) They frequently debated whether it was time to rise or not against the English Government and consulted their numbers to the extent of three or four hundred thousand men.....and urged rebellion against the British Government.....

-Deposition of Partap Singh of Jandiala,
Sahnawal, Ludhiana.

- xi) Lukka Singh came to Muthendee and advised the Zemindars not to sow their crops, as they would never reap it, as Ram Singh's troops would treat it under feet when he had his fight with Government, which would be shortly.

-Yojurnal Singh Lamberdar, Phillour.

- xii) He (Brahma Singh) said that houses etc. Should be sold and only cash kept, as it would be useful by and by. He said before me that in 2 or 2-1/2 months Gooroo Ram Singh's raj would begin.

-Heera Singh Virk of Jubber,
Gujranwala.

- xiii) Their teachings exercised great influence on the minds of people. Even women were inspired with the desire of

participating in a general rising against the British Government.

-Bhola of Katani Kallan, Ludhiana.

- xiv) There are number of Kookas in all the native armies. There are thousands in English army. Jowahir Singh Baba has given orders that the number of Kookas in the army is not to be made known.

-Gyani Rattan Singh Mandi, accused
and hanged on 26 Nov. 1871.

Papers of the Macnabb inquiry report have been taken from the N.A.I. library New Delhi. This is the original source material for the study of the Kuka Movement. The present book KUKA MOVEMENT AND THE MACNABB REPORT is the seventh in the series. Earlier three books were compiled by Sardar Nahar Singh and the remaining three were edited by the editor of this book. The depositions and information collected by the Commission are very interesting and important to understand the depth of the Kuka movement and preaching against the Government for intended outbreak. A little part of this report had been given in the IInd volume 'Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kooka Sikhs' by Sardar Nahar Singh and Dr. Fauja Singh from this report. Therefore, there is a large scope for the writers and historians to make detailed use of this inquiry report.

I am deeply indebted to Satguru Udey Singh Ji, present head of the Kuka/Namdhari society for inspiring me to publish this book. I am also grateful to Sant Jagtar Singh ji and Shri H. S. Hanspal for their extended help. I am also thankful to Dr. H. Banerjee, a renowned historian, for writing the 'Foreword' of this book. Library and staff of N. A. I. is equally thankful for their co-operation. I am also thankful to Lakhbir Singh of Jagdish Prasad Goinka, Royal computers, Amritsar who has done the difficult work of typesetting. My sincere appreciation is for my daughter Balbir Kaur for

encouraging me to publish this report lying in my records for more than 30 years.

At the end, I pay my respects to late Satguru Jagjit Singh ji who had deputed me to work for the research and collect documents relating to the Kuka history. The present book 'KUKA MOVEMENT AND THE MACNABB REPORT' is dedicated to our reverent Satguru, Satguru Ram Singh Ji on his 200th birth anniversary.

Dated: 17 January 2016.

Jaswinder Singh
2348-B, Raja Park,
Shakur Basti, DELHI-110034.
Mobile: 09810217696

**List of prisoners (Kookas) confined in the Allahabad
Central Jail, and the recommendation of
Mr. Macnabb in each case**

<i>Names of Kooka prisoners confined in the Allahabad Central Jail.</i>	<i>Recommendations of Mr. MacNabb, Deputy Commissioner of Umballa, on special duty</i>
1. Sahib Singh	To be detained in banishment for life.
2. Rur Singh	To be detained for two years, and see note.
3. Lukka Singh ¹	The same as No. 1
4. Kaku Singh	Ditto ditto
5. Brahma Singh	To be detained for 10 years, and see note.
6. Jowahir Singh	To be detained for life unless Kookaism collapse so as to cease to be a matter of political anxiety.
7. Malluk Singh	To be detained for two years, and see note.
8. Man Singh	To be detained for three years, and see note.
9. Hukma Singh	To be detained for one year (on release this man to be made over to the Nabha Raja).

¹. Lakha Singh - editor.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 10. | Pahara Singh | To be detained for ten years, and see note. |
| 11. | Sirdar Mungul Singh of Raipur ¹ | In reference to this prisoner, Mr. Macnabb writes as follows :

"Sirdar Mungul Singh was made over to us by the Maharajah of Puttiala, and as his prisoner I am not called on for an opinion regarding him further than to state that, were he in the same position as the others, I would recommend his immediate release on the terms offered by him, and if that is not approved of, would detain him in banishment for life". |

Note : - Mr. Macnabb further recommends that the cases of these men be re-considered with reference to the state of Kookaism in the Punjab generally at the time when the period named for each shall have terminated; and that should it then be thought expedient to allow their return, they should remain under police surveillance at their homes and neither attend nor hold fairs or meetings.

1. Mangul Singh-editor.

REMARKS OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT ON THE REPORT OF MR. MACNABB, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER.

The Lieutenant-Governor agrees generally in the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Macnabb, but does not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to the degree of danger to be apprehended in each case. States that the expediency of releasing the men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the province, but at no time should such a measure be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually reviewed and a report made to the Government of India.

As regards the case of Sirdar Mungul Singh, the Lieutenant-Governor does not agree in Mr. Macnabb's recommendation, but thinks it preferable that he should be detained as an example and warning to plotters of the better class.

W.J.S., 1-7-72.

This Note, prepared in the office, shows Mr. Macnabb's recommendations in a collated form.

H.W., 2-7-72.

The case will be studied by the Hon'ble Member: I need add nothing. I see that the question of a place of custody remains undecided. Shall I telegraph to Chief Commissioner Central Provinces, asking whether he can give up and make available the Aseerguh building?

H.L.D., 3-7-72.

MR. MACNABB'S ENQUIRY AS TO THE DETENTION OF KOOKA SOOBAHS.

The object with which Mr. Macnabb's inquiry was ordered was that the Government of India might be in possession of full and sufficient evidence to support, if desired necessary, "the detention of Ram Singh's soobahs after the excitement immediately arising

out of the recent occurrences in the Umballa Division has passed away".

It was ordered that the officer conducting the inquiry should collect the evidence and the defence of the prisoners, and make a summary of the evidence in each man's case, and that he should also express his opinion as to the degree of guilt attaching to each of the several prisoners, and the expediency or otherwise of releasing him.

The Government of the Punjab was further asked to express an opinion with reference to the evidence and to the position of each individual and his influence, whether he should be released at once or detained; and if detained, for how long a period.

As a matter of fact, the officer conducting the enquiry has gone a little beyond his commission, and, having decided that all, or at any rate all but one, of the prisoners should be detained, has proposed a specific period of detention for each.

The Government of the Punjab, on the other hand, has declined to accept the periods so fixed by Mr. Macnabb, while generally accepting his other conclusions, (except as to the one man, Sirdar Mungul Singh, whom he thought might, perhaps, on certain conditons, be released) and, moreover, they decline to fix any specific periods of their own. His Honor says "the expediency of releasing these men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the province, and the Lieutenant Governor thinks that such a measure should at no time be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually reviewed, and a report made to the Government of India." As to Mungul Singh, the Punjab Government consider him one of the principal and least excusable of the conspirators.

The opinion of the Punjab Government appears to be just, and moreover, the view taken of the case of each man by Mr. Macnabb does not in every case seem to myself quite sound. I, therefore, propose, as the matter is one of much importance to review his proposals some what in detail.

In considering his final judgment, Mr. Macnabb has, I think,

been influenced partly by the evidence as to the share taken by the prisoners in the Kooka confederacy, but mainly by their personal character. It seems to me, however, that their local influence and position are also very serious points to which Mr. Macnabb seems hardly to have paid, perhaps, quite sufficient attention.

It is quite possible that a man may be dangerous from his position alone, to say nothing of position and influence combined.

For example, Sahib Singh is admittedly the probable successor of Ram Singh, and Rur Singh is his brother. Yet, (though Rur Singh seems undoubtedly to have been cognizant of the butcher murders before their commission) because he is a man of no "mark of character", and "a family man," Mr. Macnabb would release him almost sooner than any other man.

To proceed however. The first man is *Sahib Singh*. Sahib Singh was Ram Singh's ambassador in the recent mission to Nipal. He is on the books of all the police officers as "Ram Singh's expected successor", his "confidential Soobah," "Ram Singh's lieutenant," "always with Ram Singh," "best known of all the Soobas;" and Mr. Macnabb describes him "as educated, ambitious, designing, always edging on Ram Singh to fresh movements."

There is direct evidence (Appendix C) as to his being one at least of the most active of the Kooka propaganda. But there is also some evidence, and evidence which I think, too, is not to be lightly cast aside, that he was one of the soobas present at Bhainee during the Lohri festival, and he encouraged and exhorted the party under Lehna Singh and Heera Singh to start on their march for Mullair Kotla.

There is also some* evidence, but perhaps not quite reliable, that on this occasion Sahib Singh took the lead, amongst others, in a confidential council in which Ram Singh was asked to declare himself

* This evidence is chiefly that of the head men of Bhainee itself. In one sense it is valuable, because they doubtless were in a position to know every thing that went on. On the other hand they were not favourably disposed to Ram Singh, who had partly usurped their local authority, and had even appropriated some of the village land for his followers.

king "to take his raj."

Mr. Macnabb thinks that if he be ever allowed to return to the Punjab, "Kookaism would at once revive and become troublesome," and recommends his permanent detention.

This proposal is probably right. The man is a dangerous traitor and, with the mass of ignorance and fanaticism always to be found in th Punjab, would have at any time plenty of combustible matters ready to his hand. He, probably, was the main leader of the active and political portion of the sect.

Rur Singh—Of Rur Singh, I have already spoken. He is believed to have been an accomplice in the Umritsur butcher murders. He left Bhainee suddenly and in a suspicious manner with 16 Kookas for Umritsur on the 16th January last, as was believed at the time, to raise the Kookas of that quarter, had the attack on Mullair Kotla been successful. He admits to be a Soobah. He is brother to Sahib Singh, who is scarcely of less importance than Ram Singh. I cannot understand how Mr. Macnabb attaches so little importance to him. He is clearly capable of being a very dangerous tool, if not likely himself to be a leading conspirator. He should not, I think, be allowed to go at large till at least the organization of the sect is thoroughly broken down beyond all revival, and then only under strict surveillance.

Lulka Singh—Mr. Macnabb goes very fully into this man's case. He is no doubt an active leader, and seems to have been specially seditious and to be peculiarly characterized by his turbulence and readiness for disturbance; the evidence all strongly insists on his dangerous character, and he is said to have been conspicuous in sending off and encouraging the band of men who went to attack Mullair Kotia. Mr. Macnabb would keep him in perpetual banishment. I am disposed to agree; at any rate he certainly should not be released except under a very great change in the country and in his own conduct.

Kahn Singh—seems to be very much in the same category with Lukka Singh, and Mr. Macnabb places him accordingly and records a similar recommendation as to his treatment. This view is

probably correct.

Brahma Singh—The evidence against this man is of the strongest possible character. He is shown on distinct evidence (part of this was sent up to Government a year ago, I may observe) to have for years systematically preached sedition and ultimate rebellion. He holds in the Goozeranwalla and Sealkot districts and the country a position equivalent to that of the other leading soobahs. He was clearly cognizant of the intention to commit the butcher murders, and he preached openly in praise of them afterwards. After meetings convoked by him, acts such as those done by fanatic Kookas occurred, for instance the destroying graves and injuring musjids. He is said by Narain Singh (Appendix B, No.2) to have been the person who planned the attacks on Mullair Kotla and Malindh, to have visited the Wahabi colony in the hills, to have visited Cabul* and appointed a soobah there. Altogether he appears to be the most boldly seditious, active and persistent of all the soobahs.

Yet Mr. Macnabb considers him less dangerous than the others because he is more of a fanatic and less of a political adventurer, and believes the case to be only stronger against him because the police have been more active in his locality, and would release him after ten years detention under surveillance.

To my view he is only the more dangerous, because the more sincere, and I think he should be placed in exactly the same category as Lukka Singh, Kahn Singh, Sahib Singh and, in fact, in the class of those who are scarcely (if at all) less dangerous than Ram Singh himself.

Jawahir Singh.—As to this man I have nothing to add to

* This story, improbable as it would seem *prima facie*, derives curious confirmation from a totally independent witness who deposes to Brahma Singh in one of his harangues declaring that a son had been born to the Cabul Soobah (whom he names), and that this boy, who was much beloved of Ram Singh, was to be their future Guru under whom the sect was ultimately to triumph.

what Mr. Macnabb says, but he is certainly not a more dangerous man than Brahma Singh,

It may be well here to consider the case of Mungul Singh, who is the last of what may be called the chief leaders of the Kookas. This man is a near relative of the Puttiala Rajah, or rather a near connection of his. He was arrested by and his deportation requested by the Rajah. He has volunteered publicly to recant Kookaism, and Mr. Macnabb is disposed to allow him to do this. The Punjab Government differ entirely, and I am disposed to think they are right.

That Mungul Singh has identified himself utterly with the Kookas there is no doubt. He joined them long since; his junction is spoken of as having given a great impulse to the progress of the sect. He has been looked up to as the man of influence among them who is to do much for the sect. Even now the Kooka prophets foretell his release, first, as the forerunner of the release of the other imprisoned Kookas, and of the ultimate triumph of the sect. He is spoken of as publicly avowing the tenets of the sect and recommending them. He has made valuable presents to Ram Singh, and he seems, at one time at least, to have been in earnest, for there is a story, which Mr. Macnabb appears to believe, of his having in some way made over to Ram Singh certain jewels of large value (£ 30,000 it is said) with which he had been entrusted in the course of a mission to Dholepur, where a connection, a Puttiala princess, is married.

It was indeed given out among the Kookas that he joined the sect as the representative of the Rajah, who was secretly inclined to favor them. (I presume this rather applies to the late Rajah).

The Rajah therefore, has ample grounds for arresting him as a Kooka leader of dangerous importance, and could hardly have shown his opposition to the sect or his loyalty to the British Government in a more emphatic manner.

It is needless to say that Mungul Singh must be dangerous even from his position and influence, whatever his ability (and he is said to be clever), and even though he may be merely a political intriguer, without any real sympathy for the Kookas, but he is evidently dangerous on other grounds also; he is a reckless, daring

man, who has flung himself into what he doubtless deemed a likely political movement, and has not stuck at identifying himself with open sedition in the hope no doubt of high* place and position, if the movement succeeded as he probably believed; either from calculation or fanaticism, or partly through both, that it would.

Nothing, I think, could be more unwise than to release a man of this kind in the face of the Maharajah's arrest and request for deportation. His recantation would hardly have a stronger political effect against the sect than his deportation, while it might be easily palliated, excused, or afterwards even denied, and would, in any case, weigh but little in the estimation of the sect against the service which he has already rendered or may be able to render.

And even if Mungul Singh were to break altogether with the Kookas, he is clearly a bold intriguing man of position and influence, which he has shown himself ready to sell to the best advantage to any leader of turbulent parties who gives him the prospect of success.

He should not, I think, be released, unless the Maharajah of Puttiala, who knows best his character and capabilities for evil, should desire his release and volunteer to be responsible for his conduct after discharge from custody.

The remaining four men, *viz.*, *Man Singh*, *Malluk Singh*, *Pahara Singh* and *Hukma Singh*, are evidently men of less importance and, from the part they played, of less ability than the others. They are rather unscrupulous and daring instruments, perhaps than able leaders. Still they have all deeply and conspicuously committed themselves by their acts.

Maliuk Singh commenced, years ago, a fanatic outbreak avowedly intended to overthrow the existing government and, although ludicrously disproportioned to its object, the attempt might, nevertheless, have resulted in serious bloodshed but for the promptitude, judgment, and courage of the local authorities.

* The witnesses say that he had been promised Nabha and Puttiala as his share.

Mr. Macnabb says he has apparently tamed down of late, but he has remained a soothsayer preaching the tenets and spreading the influence of the sect, and in the confidence of the leaders who, he must have known, were tending in the same direction as his own abortive attempt, which certainly brought him into no disfavor with them.

Man Singh is much in the same boat. He was concerned in the outbreak of 1869, and the evidence is strong against him of recent seditious teaching and active concern in the late outbreak though, as to this last point, the evidence is perhaps not quite so good, and there is some contradiction possibly arising out of some confusion of names.

Pahara Singh is, if any thing, more dangerous, he seems undoubtedly to have taken an active part in planning the Umritsur butcher-murder, though rather in subordination to Brahma Singh, who kept in the back-ground, and he seems also, if the evidence is trustworthy, to have been active at the Lohri festival at Bhainee, in counselling, indeed urging, the attack on Maledh.

Hukma Singh owes his importance, apparently, not to his acts or his ability, but rather to his reputation as the confidential adviser and constant attendant on Ram Singh, and to his quasi religious character and supposed sanctity. It is impossible to say what share he took in the designs of the sect, but he can scarcely have been ignorant of, or hostile to them; nor has he used his palpable influence with Ram Singh to counteract them.

These four may, perhaps, be classed with Rur Singh and detained untill the movement has lost all vitality and has perished beyond all chance of resuscitation.

The opinions expressed above may seem harsh, and it may perhaps be deemed a strong measure to use Regulation III. of 1818 to the extent contemplated. But it is to be remembered that almost beyond moral doubt all the prisoners have been concerned in crimes which would have subjected them to transportation for life, if proved. Conspiring to wage war against the Queen, seditious preaching and teaching, abetment of murder, and of rebellion with murder, - these are the offences with one or more of which every one of the prisoners

is, at least on very strong grounds, charged. It seems probable now that if it were politic to bring them to trial, proof, even for legal conviction (as for example against Brahma Singh) could easily be obtained. There seems accordingly no practical injustice in inflicting upon them under the Act, for reasons of policy, restrictions of their liberty, which they have really deserved by their breaches of the criminal law. It seems only necessary to discriminate between those who as active leaders will be dangerous under any circumstances, so long as an inflammable mass of ignorance and fanaticism exists in the Punjab, and those who are dangerous only in connection with the present movement.

There are two further points which seem to require notice,—the light which the present evidence throws on the nature and importance of the Kooka movement, and the career and character of Ram Singh himself; and, secondly, the actual measures to be taken for the safe custody of the prisoners while under detention.

Even if it be conceded, as perhaps it may, that the Kooka sect under Balluk Singh, and at first under Ram Singh, was a purely religious one, it is yet apparent that it long since assumed a political character. It is not very clear when the change took place; it was possibly gradual, perhaps forced upon Ram Singh by his followers, who, led to be zealous for the revival of the purity of the Sikh faith, soon yearned for the revival of its political supremacy also.

I am inclined to think that Ram Singh, who appears to have been, personally at least, very cautious, did not give in to this feeling until his sect fell into temporary discredit on account of the inconsistent conduct of certain of his chief disciples. It would seem that about this time he relaxed a practical moral discipline among his disciples, and that from thenceforward he turned his attention rather to increase his numbers, than to reform individuals. But once a political end admitted, his disciples became impatient of delay, and, more or less believing in his supernatural powers and eager to gratify their personal ambition, could not understand why he should delay "to take his raj." Ram Singh, on the other hand, seems to have seen clearly the weakness of the movement, and that his only chance was to gain the assistance of Native Chiefs, and to obtain recruits

in the ranks of the army and the police. For both objects he seems to have made efforts and to have failed in both.

I do not think he would willingly have allowed his own blow to be struck until he had a good chance of success; but he was probably willing to allow the attempt actually made as an experiment to be taken advantage of if it succeeded, to be used as a means of controlling his more impatient followers if it failed.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt, I think, from these papers that his ultimate object, and that of his whole sect, was the subversion of all existing government and the establishment of his own political and religious supremacy; and that the language and conduct of the entire body of leaders has been as seditious as it could well be. Nevertheless, he may, to some extent, be sincerely impressed with the reality of his mission as a religious reformer.

I notice that several persons are mentioned in this correspondence as active agents in seditious teaching, &c, and whom the Punjab Government have not apparently thought it necessary to arrest, but one or two, -as Jotha Singh of Dharye in the District of Sealkot, Brahma Singh's deputy, -seem to have gone very far. I presume the Punjab Government is watching them.

As to the place of confinement to be selected, it is clear that Allahabad is, for many reasons, unfit for this purpose. It seems to me, moreover, that, if possible, the six men indicated as leaders, viz. Lukka Singh, Sahib Singh Jowahir Singh, Brahma Singh, Kahn Singh and Mungul Singh should be, like Ram Singh, removed beyond the peninsula of India. Proper beyond, that is, of all possible reach by correspondence or otherwise of their adherents in the Punjab.

The Andamans do not, probably at present, offer a sufficiently secure and isolated asylum, but three might, perhaps, be sent to Moulmein and three to Akyab. There is, I believe, to be a military detachment hereafter at the latter place, who could afford a guard, if necessary.

For the remaining five, either Azimgurh or Chunar would, apparently, suit or they might be divided between the two places.

The Bombay Government formerly asked for an allowance European officer to be in charge of political prisoners at Azimgurh; but there is now a garison staff officer, who also does civil duties, and he might be in charge, if an allowance be deemed necessary. Rupees 50 would be ample.

E.C.B., 17-7-72.

To His Excellency the Governor General, and circulate.

Mr. Hobhouse,- I should be glad if you would look at the depositions of the witnesses against the prisoners, and give me your opinion whether there is sufficient evidence to convict them under Act XXVII. of 1870.

N., 19-7-72.

CASE OF THE KOOKA PRISONERS.

It appears to me that the prisoners may be charged under several clauses of the Penal Code. They may be proved to have committed any of the following offences:

- (a)— Waging war, attempting to wage war or abetting such war against the Queen. For this the punishment may be death.- *Act XLV of 1860, Section 121.*
- (b)— Conspiring to commit any of the foregoing offences, or to deprive the Queen of Her sovereignty, or to overawe the Government by force. For this the punishment may be transportation for life. -*Act XXVII. of 1870., Section 121A.*
- (c)— Preparing to wage war. For this the punishment may be transportation for life. -*Act XLV of 1860, Section 122.*
- (d)— Waging war, attempting to wage war, or abetting war against an allied Asiatic Power. For this the punishment may be transportation for life. -*Act XLV of 1860. Section 125.*
- (e)— Committing depredation, or preparing to do so, on the territory of any such Power. For this the punishment may be imprisonment for seven years and fine -*Act XLV of 1860, Section 126.*

- (f)— Exciting disaffection to Government by words. For this the punishment may be transportation or life. -*Act XXVII of 1870, Section 124 A.*
- (g)— Abetting any of such offences. -*Act XLV of 1860, Sections 107, 108.*

2. I take it that, upon a charge of committing one of these offences, proof of acts leading directly up to another of them, would be good evidence, as showing the character of the principal acts. For instance, if the prisoners were charged under head (f) the direct evidence would be their speeches, but their presence and conduct at Bhainee would be properly dwelt upon as giving point and significance to the speeches. And so, if the charges were under any of the first five heads, the direct evidence would be the proceedings at Bhainee, but their previous speeches would be properly referred to as showing the animus of those proceedings. I am not much versed in criminal proceedings, but I suppose that the prosecutor would select for prosecution the charge on which he found that the strongest evidence bore most directly, and would use the other evidence for explanation.

3. With these views I have perused the whole of the depositions given in the Appendices attached to Mr. Griffins' letter of the 24th ultimo. They were taken not quite for the present purpose, and there is in them a vast quantity of mere hearsay and other loose matter which would crumble to pieces under any rigid handling. But there is a very consistent story told about the proceedings at Bhainee, which bears the appearance of truth. At all events I take the evidence as it stands. Throwing aside all that which a court of justice would reject if offered in its present shape,

I think that enough remains clearly to substantiate a charge against ten of the prisoners under, perhaps, head (a), and certainly heads (b), (c), (d), (e) and (g). And I should select one of those heads in preference to head (f), because the direct evidence is of a more conclusive and trustworthy character, and also because it affects the whole group of prisoners, excepting one.

4. By far the most important depositions are those taken by Mr. Beadon on the 16th and 19th April 1872 (*Appendix C., No. 1*).

It is clear that all the prisoners, except Sirdar Mungul Singh, were in conclave at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th of January. Many witnesses concur in stating this, and the prisoners themselves do not deny it. Bhola Singh who was present says- "The whole ten of the soobahs at Bhainee were of one mind and all without exception urged on Heera and Lehna Singh of Shekrondee to attack Malodh." Nihal Singh says, "I was present when the ten soobahs now in arrest counselled Heera and Lehna Singh and others to make the attack on Malodh and get arms, and then to proceed and take Kotla, and after that to attack British possessions." Bhugwana says, "I was among them in undress. Ram Singh and the soobahs said to Lehna and Heera Singh to go to Kotla and Nabha and get arms and horses." Sookhoo, who appears to have been present, because he says he heard a particular conversation, says- "Lehna and Heera Singh of Shekrondee came last Maghee to Ram Singh and his soobahs, who were in durbar and said they intended to attack Kotla. Then they would procure arms and take Nabha, Puttiala, Jheend, Ferozepore, and Delhi. They asked Ram Singh for help. Lukka Singh assented and promised help. The rest said that the answer given by Lukka Singh was theirs. Lehna Singh and Heera Singh were the leaders of the second batch. When these went off, Hurnam Singh and Lukka Singh, Soobahs, were present. I heard Heera and Lehna tell Hurnam Singh that they were going 'to take change (revenge-editor) for the death of Gyanee Singh (of Raikote notoriety) who is Hurnam Singh's brother. Hurnam and Lukka Singh said 'very good, we will follow.' "Gyanee Singh, I collect from another part of the evidence, was concerned in the slaughter of butchers at Raikote and was hung for it.

5. If this evidence is maintained, it certainly proves something very like the instigation of open warfare, first against the Queen's allies and then against Herself. The open warfare certainly commenced directly afterwards. If the same persons are found to have been threatening war previously, the case becomes very strong against them. On this point the evidence varies very much as regards the individual prisoners. One or two witnesses appear to attribute inflammatory language to the whole eleven (see the evidence of

Bhola Singh, Dewa Singh, Nihal Singh and Sookhoo Singh. (*Appendix C., No. 2*). But they are hardly precise enough to be relied on.

6. Against Sahib Singh there is the evidence of Nihal Singh, Dewa Singh, Pertab Singh, and Dowlutram. (*Appendix C., No. 1*)

7. Against Rur Singh there is no specific evidence of this kind.

8. Against Lukka Singh there is the evidence of Dewa Singh, Pertab Singh and Dowlutram. (*Appendix C., No. 1*.) There appears also to be evidence by Sirdar Yeajmul Singh, though it is not made clear that he himself heard what Lukka said. (*Appendix B., No. 13*).

9. Against Kaha or Nihung Singh there is not much evidence; that of Pertab Singh and Dowlutram is the most specific. (*Appendix C., No. 1*.) According to two other witnesses, Ram Singh and Lehna, he appears to have been present at a meeting when the establishment of Kooka dominion was spoken of. (*Appendix D.*)

10. Against Brahma Singh there is a great quantity of evidence: see that of Cheyt Singh (*Appendix B., No. 9*), and of some of the witnesses examined by Mr. Miller on the 30th April 1872 (*Appendix E., No. 1*); and those examined by Mr. Trafford on the 19th April 1872. (*Appendix E., No. 3*)

11. Against Jowahir Singh there is the evidence of his namesake (*Appendix F., No. 2*.) and of Dowlutram (*Appendix C., No. 1*)

12. Against Malluk Singh there is the evidence of Badawar Singh. (*Appendix F., No. 3*.)

13. Against Man Singh there is the evidence of Jowahir Singh, Beodh Singh and Gholab Singh. (*Appendix F., Nos. 2 & 3*.)

14. Against Hukma Singh and Pahara Singh I find no such evidence, unless Dowlutram's is to be considered such. (*Appendix C., No. 1*.)

15. Sirdar Mungul Singh has a very bad general character given him, but he is entirely free from the Bhainee conclave and its consequences. In his case, therefore, seditious language lacks the pointed application which complication in that affair gives to the language of the others. Dewa Singh and Pertab Singh speak of him

as using such language (*Appendix C., No.1*), and so does Sirdar Yeajmul Singh, on the inconclusive nature of whose evidence I have before remarked, (*Appendix B., No. 13*)

16. Of course it may turn out that some of the evidence which I have treated as valueless, because the witness does not depose to his personal knowledge, is really evidence at first hand and not hearsay. Taking it as it stands, I should rather think that Sirdar Mungul Singh would, escape on a prosecution under head (f); I think that Rur Singh, Hukma Singh and Pahara Singh would escape, and that the rest would be convicted.

17. The character of the language attributed to the various persons does not vary very materially. It is to the effect that the British raj will soon be suppressed in favour of Kooka or a Khalsa raj, and that Kookas will then receive rewards.

18. I do not know at all accurately the geographical and political position of several of the places mentioned. From what has already passed I have assumed that the acts done, and the persons against whom they were aimed, are so placed as to bring each case within the scope of the Penal Code.

19. The foregoing examination of the evidence must not be taken for more than it is worth. If any practical measure is to turn upon the probability of these prisoners being convicted of any crime, it will be prudent to take the advice of counsel actually practicing in criminal business.

A.H., 22-7-72.

CIRCULATE.

The question is whether these men are to be tried according to the ordinary mode, or treated, as Ram Singh has been, under the Regulation of 1818. I presume this depends upon the probable effect of a public trial. Upon this it is, I think, necessary to consult the Punjab Government.

N., 22-7-72.

I think the course proposed by His Excellency should be followed.

H.W.N., 23-7-72.

I quite agree that the Punjab Government must be asked its opinion, but I should be disposed, in writing to them, to say that if the political objections to a public trial can be got over, which might be possible by holding the trial in some district where there are not Kookas, there would be very great advantage in bringing to trial in the ordinary way those prisoners of whose conviction there can be no reasonable doubt.

J.S., 24-7-72.

I would refer to the Punjab Government for opinion.

My own at present is against trial, the notoriety of the thing will tempt barristers to try and make a reputation. Native witnesses are uncertain, and a failure would do infinite mischief. All would be mischievous if released, but if the worst only are tried and convicted, what would be done with the others. They must be released.

N. of M., 25-7-72.

I am against trial, if it can be avoided: I say this with great regret. But there is no overlooking the fact that, whenever a trial for political crimes takes place, there are unhappily found English barristers who, not content with justly defending their clients (which is quite right), go beyond all legitimate bounds and raise a sort of political excitement, very detrimental, to the minds of our Native people. Still, sooner than let *proved criminals* go free, I would face the evils of a prosecution.

R.T., 27-7-72.

**MR. MACNABB'S ENQUIRY INTO THE CASES OF
THE KUKA SUBHAS NOW CONFINED IN THE
ALLAHABAD FORT.**

No. 24 A, dated Camp Ozaic, the 6th February 1872.

From-C.A. ELLIOTT, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the N.W. Provs.

To-E.C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I., Secy. to the Govt. of India.

In reply to your No. 170, date the 2nd February 1872, I am directed to say that the present condition of the Central Jail at Allahabad is not such as would admit of the secure custody of the Kuka prisoners. The jail is not completed, and a portion of the wall fell down in the late rains, and has not yet been restored.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that Chunar would be a more suitable place for their retention than Allahabad, and would strongly recommend their removal thither.

Telegram dated the 19th February 1872.

From-Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces.

To-His Excellency, Acting Governor General, Calcutta.

Accommodation in Allahabad Fort quite inadequate for Kuka prisoners. Their health endangered. Should be transferred elsewhere. More by post.

Telegram dated the 24th February 1872.

From-Secretary, North-Western Provinces.

To-Home Secretary, Calcutta.

Another Kuka leader sent for confinement in Fort. Early orders solicited for transfer of Kuka prisoners elsewhere. there being no proper accommodation in Fort.

No. 42 A, dated Allahabad, the 31st March 1872.

From—C.A. ELLIOTT, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the N.W. Provs.

To—E.C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I., Secy. to the Govt. of India.

In continuation of this Office letter No. 24 A, dated the 6th February last, I am directed to forward copy of a letter* received from the Commissioner of the Allahabad Division, regarding the future confinement of the Kuka prisoners at present detained in the Fort of Allahabad, and to request that his Excellency the Governor General in Council may be moved to pass early orders on the subject.

No. 42 dated Allahabad, the 2nd March 1872.

From—M.H. COURT, Esq., C.S.I., Commr. of 4th Division, Allahabad.

To—C.A. ELLIOTT, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the N.W. Provs.

I have the honor to forward, for the orders of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, copy of a letter from Magistrate of Allahabad, No. 25, dated 28th ultimo, and of its enclosure, regarding the future confinement of the Kuka prisoners at present detained in the Fort of Allahabad.

No. 613, dated Allahabad, the 27th February 1872.

From—Major-Genl. H. TOMBS.

To—J.C. ROBERTSON, Esq., Magistrate of Allahabad.

With reference to Colonel Reid's letter No. 460, dated 12th instant, regarding the accommodation available in the Fort at Allahabad for the Kuka prisoners, I have the honor to inform you that I recently visited the State Prison at Chunar, and am of opinion that it does not sufficiently afford accommodation for the Kuka prisoners as well as the Arabs, 5 in number, with eight or nine servants now confined there; but if the Arabs could be removed from Chunar, I consider it would be a more suitable place for the Kukas than where they now are.

*No. 42 A, dated 2nd March 1872, with enclosure.

I have to request that no delay take place in settling the ultimate destination of these prisoners, as their present accommodation in Fort Allahabad is altogether unsuitable, and it is quite impossible they can remain there without getting sick.

No. 25, dated Allahabad, the 28th February 1872.

From—J.C. ROBERTSON, Esq., Magistrate of Allahabad.

To—M.H. COURT, Esq., C.S.I., Commr. of 4th Division, Allahabad.

I have the honor to forward copy of a letter from the Major-General commanding the Allahabad Division, regarding the accommodation of Kuka prisoners. General Tombs verbally informed me that he could provide accommodation for Ram Singh and one other Kuka in the Fort here; but he begs that no delay may be incurred in removing the others.

Telegram dated the 22nd April 1872.

From—Home Secretary, Calcutta.

To—Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab.

What is James Macnabb doing? The Lieutenant-Governor complains that quarters at Allahabad are getting too hot for Kuka prisoners.

Telegram dated the 23rd April 1872.

From—Secretary, Government Punjab.

To—Home Secretary, Calcutta.

James Macnabb is at Allahabad by this time with the evidence in the case.

No. 1045, dated Simla, the 13th June 1872.

From—H.W. WELLESLEY, Esq., Offg. Under Secy., to the Govt. of India.

To—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

I am directed to invite attention to paragraphs 3 to 6 of the letter from this Department, No.472, dated the 10th March last,

and to request that the report therein called for may be furnished with the least possible delay. The Government of the North-Western Provinces represents that there is no proper accommodation at Allahabad for the Kuka prisoners now under detention, and orders regarding them are urgently necessary.

No. 2217, dated the 24th June 1872.

From—L.H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To—H.L. DAMPIER, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

I am directed, in acknowledging your letters No. 472, dated 10th March, and No. 1046, dated 13th June, to forward a report on the cases of the Kuka Subhas confined in the fort of Allahabad. This report has been prepared by Mr. James Macnabb, C.S., who was specially deputed for this purpose in accordance with the directions of the Government of India, and who, as Officiating Commissioner of Ambala during the greater part of 1871, had the best opportunity of forming a reliable opinion on the position of the Kuka sect generally, and the relative importance of its leaders.

2. In the conclusions of this report the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor generally agrees. It carefully discriminates the degrees of danger to be apprehended from each of the Kuka Subhas under detention, but His Honor does not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to those degrees. The expediency of releasing these men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the Province, and the Lieutenant-Governor thinks such a measure should at no time be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually reviewed, and a report made to the Govt. of India.

3. As regards Sirdar Mangal Singh, in particular, apart from the fact of his having been made over by the Maharaja of Patiala for detention in British Territory, it is clear, from the evidence collected by Mr. Macnabb, that he is one of the principal conspirators, whilst his rank and position leave his treason without excuse or palliation. The Lieutenant-Governor cannot agree with Mr. Macnabb in thinking that any appreciable advantage would accrue from his public

recantation of Kukaism. Followed up by his release, it would be generally attributed to interested inconstancy. It is preferable that he should be detained as an example and warning to plotters of the better class.

4. The Appendices A to K are forwarded in original to save delay.

No.—, dated Simla.

From—I W. MACNABB, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ambala District.

To—L.H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg., Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab.

In reply to your No 118, dated 19th March 1872, regarding the 11 Kuka Subhas now in confinement at Allahabad, I have the honour to submit the following report.

The object of enquiry I have been directed to make is to show whether or not these men are individually dangerous characters, whose release would be likely to lead to further trouble in the Punjab.

The case of each individual is submitted separately, as directed, but it is also necessary to state the case against them generally, as it appears from the enquiries I had previously made the result of which is given in my report of the 4th November last, and from the evidence now obtained, which consists of the papers detailed in the appendix and statements of the prisoners themselves.

It will be observed that the evidence contained in the appendix has been obtained from many perfectly independant sources which gives it, where the statements agree, the greater weight.

The report of the 4th November proves, I think beyond doubt that Kukaism aims at the restoration of Sikh rule, and by necessity the subversion of the British power.

I would here note that where the witnesses speak of a Sikh Raj succeeding that of the English, a temporal and not merely a spiritual, rule is intended, and it seems to me that the mere declaration

of the immediate advent of the Sikh Raj under Kuka leadership, addressed to men who are urged to become Kukas that they may derive all the benefits accruing to the members of a victorious sect, is a teaching intended to stir up sedition in the minds of the hearers; and this is what I mean when in the accompanying papers I have used the word "seditious."

That the sect and its tenets are actually dangerous to the tranquility of the Province is further proved by the outbreak at Tera¹, near Mokatsar in February 1869, in which, after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, the Kukas of that neighbourhood proclaimed the Sikh Raj: *secondly*, by the murder of the butchers, which was a political move defying British authority which had specially permitted kine-killing, *thirdly*, by their late attack on Malodh and Malehr Kotla.

All the prisoners admit, with the exception of Man Singh and Mangal Singh, that they are Subhas, or leaders of this dangerous sect, and against these two their leadership is fully proved; - on this ground alone they must be held to be dangerous.

But in addition to this there is the evidence of a great number of Zaildars and Lambardars, or headmen of villages, to prove that the general preaching of the Subhas themselves was seditious, namely, that all should become Kukas at once, otherwise it will be too late, as the Sikh Raj, under the leadership of Ram Singh, is to commence, and those who fail to join now will not be allowed to do so then, that the men are to get as much cash ready as possible; that the women are to wear short drawers that they may become martyrs with decency; and there must first be persecution, then success (a convenient doctrine accounting for all reverses) .

All the prisoners, except Mangal Singh and Man Singh, admit that they were at Bhaini when the outbreak took place. Jowahir Singh admits that it was the common talk of the place that the "mastanas" were in a fanatical frenzy, and were going to attack Malchr Kotla, Nabha, Jhind and Patiala, and the witnesses marginally noted² state

1. Tharajwala -editor.

2. Appendix C Bhola Singh. Deva Singh. Nihal Singh. Bhangwana. Lakka Singh.

that the prisoners, except Mangal Singh, urged on and encouraged Hira and Lehna Singh and their band in the intended attack.

These prisoners being thus proved to be dangerous men, I would strongly recommend that they should not be allowed to return to the Punjab at present.

Both they and their followers would at once set it down as a fresh demonstration of their Guru's power, and, coupled with the punishment of the officers who were concerned in the late Kuka executions, it would lead to an immediate revival of the hopes and activity of the sect.

As an instance of the way in which every event is misrepresented so as to redound to their Guru's glory, I may mention that, when trying the Raikot case, I sent for Ram Singh as a witness defence. He came, and was kept waiting in a tent till his turn came, then he was sent home. His followers, knowing (which I did not then know) how deeply he was implicated in the business, were much surprised at his being let go, and the story was immediately circulated that he had "miraculously disappeared from the tent where he was prisoner, that the Police refused to guard him any longer, and the *Sahiblog* then let him go"-(see Appendix L). I would recommend that (1) Sahib Singh, (3) Lakka Singh and (4) Kanh Singh be detained in banishment for life; that the cases of others be reconsidered with reference to the state of Kukaism in the Punjab generally at the time when the period named for each shall have terminated; and that, should it then be thought expedient to allow their return, they should remain under Police surveillance at their homes, and neither attend nor hold fairs or meetings, (6) Jowahir Singh to be detained for life, unless Kukaism collapse so as to cease to be a matter of political anxiety, (5) Brahma Singh, and (10) Pahara Singh, 10 years, (8) Man Singh, three years, (2) Rur Singh and (7) Malluk Singh, two years. (9) Hukma Singh, one year (on release this man should be made over to the Nabha Raja). (11) Sirdar Mangal Singh was made over to us by the Maharajah of Patiala, and, as his prisoner, I am not called on for an opinion regarding him further than to state that were he in the same position as the others I would recommended his immediate release on the terms offered by him, and, if that is not approved of,

would detain him in banishment for life. I do not think he will disconnect our action regarding him from that of Patiala.

APPENDICES.

- A. Selected papers, 1867-68-69-70.
- B. Reports of Police Officers.
 - 1. Major Bomfield, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Ambala.
 - 2. Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, late Inspector of Police Ludianah.
 - 3. Mr. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police, Ludianah deposition.
 - 4. Mr. O'Connor, District Superintendent of Police, Hoshiarpur.
 - 5. Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore.
 - 6. Detailed report of ditto ditto.
 - 7. Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Police, Lahore, with depositions.
 - 8. Mr Charde, District Superintendent of Police, Gujranwalla.
 - 9. Ditto's full report on Brahma Singh with 31 depositions.
 - 10. Major Wall, District Superintendent of Police, Firozpur.
 - 11. Ditto's - detailed report of three Subhas.
 - 12. Ditto's - 7 depositions regarding the Subhas.
 - 13. Statement made before District Superintendent of Poice, Jalandhar.
- C. 1. Thirteen depositions by Captain Beadon, Deputy Commissioner, Ludianah.
 - 2. Four - ditto - regarding Mangal Singh.
 - 3. Two - ditto - by Mr. Macnabb, taken at Ludianah.
- D. 1. Two - ditto - by Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur, regarding Kahn Singh.
 - 2. Three - ditto - regarding seditious hopes of Kukas generally.

- E. 1. Twenty-eight depositions by Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala.
- 2. Deposition of Vysaka Singh, servant of Brahma Singh, by Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala.
- 3. Thirteen depositions by Mr. Trafford, Assistant Commissioner, Sialkot.
- F. 1. Nine depositions by Mr. Burney, Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. Rivaz, Assistant Commissioner, Ferozpur.
- 2. Deposition of Jowahir Singh, by Mr. Rivaz, Assistant Commissioner, Ferozpur.
- 3. Six depositions by Mr Rivaz, Assistant Commissioner, Ferozpur.
- 4. Letter of Mr Burney, Deputy Commissioner, Ferozpur.
- G. Copy of Subha Gyani Singh's defence before Deputy Commissioner,
- H. Copy of Colonel Baillie's letter to Mr. Hutchisson, dated 10th April.
- I. Copy of Basawa's deposition in Amritsar murder case.
- J. Copy of deposition of Deputy Inspector Sarfraz Khan in Malodh case.
- K. Copy of extract of deposition of Harnam Singh, by Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, dated 18th July, 1871.
- L. Copy of extract of depositions of Lehna Singh Mian's evidence in Amritsar case by Colonel Baillie.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner



SUMMARY OF EVIDENCES OF KOOKA SUBAS

No.1.-Summary of Evidence regarding Sahib Singh.

SAHIB SINGH states that he is a man of about 40. Became a wandering naked Fakir about the age of 18. Was made a Kuka 13 years ago by Balak Ram, (Singh - editor) founder of the sect, and was made a Subha five or six years ago by Ram Singh.

In 1863 Gainda Singh, a spy employed by the District Superintendent of Police, Jalandhar, mentions him as the leading man with Ram Singh at Bhaini, also that he drilled the people; but this is nowhere substantiated (*Appendix A of 1867*).

[Note.-I believe this report about drilling originates from some forms gone through when a party of Kukas bathe at midnight. A similar report was made to me about the same year in Sialkot.]

In 1866 the same spy reports Sahib Singh as Ram Singh's probable successor, and likely to give trouble. He also appears in list of Subhas for the same year, and Captain Menzies indicates him as Ram Singh's successor. (*Appendix A of 1867*).

In 1867 Captain Menzies repeats this report, and states that he is more listened to than Ram Singh himself, also that at the Divali Fair at Amritsar he was inclined to be turbulent and impatient of restraint, and Colonel McAndrew also reports that several leading Sikh gentlemen thought unfavorably of Sahib Singh in particular, more so than they did of the other Subhas. Sahib Singh also appeared in the list of headmen with Ram Singh at the Mela Anandpur (*Appendix A of 1868*).

The reports marginally noted, which were obtained independently of each other, remark on him as follows:

"Ram Singh's lieutenant and probable successor. Best known of all the Subhas, educated ambitious, designing, edging on Ram Singh to fresh movements." (*Appendix. Deputy Inspector General. Lahore. B.4*)

Sahib Singh, chief counsellor of Ram Singh. Great influence among the Kukas. Bears an unfavourable character; hot tempered and unscrupulous." (*Appendix. Deputy Inspector General, Ambala. B.*)

"Well known Subha; always with Ram Singh." (*Appendix. District Superintendent, Lahore, B 7.*)

"Ram Singh's confidential Subha." (*Appendix. District Superintendent, Hoshiarpur, B. 4*)

"Noted Subha". (*Appendix. District Superintendent, Ferozpur, B 10*)

Gurmukh Singh and Mangal Singh, who were hanged for the Raikot murders stated that they saw Sahib Singh at Bhaini (where they went by forced marches) the day before the murder. It is fairly to be inferred they went to receive the Guru's approval or blessing, and Sahib Singh could not have been ignorant of their errand. When, however, he was examined as their witness on the trial he utterly denied having seen them.

Sahib Singh admits that last spring he took up two mules and two buffaloes to Jang Bahadur at Nipal. He pretends that this was a mere mercantile transaction (he could hardly help smiling as he said this); but the distance to be travelled, the expense of carrying the animals by rail and the mode of repayment (Rupees 600 in cash, two kukries, a pony, a shawl, and a necklace) show that the animals were a gift to the Nipal Chief, who of course made a return present. It is to be noted that on this occasion besides Kahn Singh he was accompanied by Attar Singh and Thaman Singh, who are suspected of murdering the Morinda Chaukidar, and have absconded in consequence.

The depositions of the following Lambardars: Bela Singh, Deva Singh, Partab Singh, Nihal Singh, and Dowlat Ram, taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludianah, prove Sahib Singh to be among the three most important Subhas, which Subhas, according to all the witnesses, have been most active propagandists, and, according to many of them* have taught sedition openly.

(*Appendix C. 1.*)

*Bhola Singh

Partap Singh

Ghamandan

Nihal Singh

Bela

Dawlat Ram

Deva Singh

Rai Ahmed Khan.

Some of the witnesses especially name Sahib Singh as having encouraged the Malodh gang in their intention to proceed to open violence. Sahib Singh, who was present at Bhaini at the late outbreak, tries to make out that he informed the thanedar of their intention, but the evidence of that official and other statements show that he was merely sent to give in certain of their names, when the thanedar, having been informed by the chaukidar of the village of what was in progress, insisted on Ram Singh assisting him.

(Appendix C Bhola Singh

Nihal Singh)

DEFENCE.

Statement of Sahib Singh, son of Dial Singh, of Banwalipur, Tarn Taran, Amritsar, age 39, caste carpenter.

Became an Udasi Sadh about nine years before I became a Kuka. In 1916 Sambat went to Hazroh and was made a Kuka by Balak Ram (Singh - editor) the founder, who died in 1919. Balak Ram named Ram Singh as his successor.

I was made a Subha five or six years ago. The first made Subhas were - (4) Kahn Singh, Sudh Singh, (6) Jowahir Singh was made a Subha some five or six months afterwards, (2) Rur Singh (3) Lakka Singh, (5) Brahma Singh, (7) Malluk Singh (9) Hukma Singh, (10) Pahara Singh, are also Subhas; (8) Man Singh is not a Subha, but is a Kuka; (11) Mangal Singh is not a Subha, but is a Kuka; has been so for the last five or six years. He has given largely according to his means for religious purposes. He gave Ram Singh a great cream-colored mare and received a ghunt. He had not been in Bhaini for two months or three before the outbreak. A year and quarter ago I went with (4) Khan Singh, Attur Singh, Thaman Singh and two others with two mule and two buffaloes, - the former for the Tika, the latter for the Rajah of Nipal. They had sent for them through Hari Singh, Kirpal Singh, Bir Singh and Bishan Singh (Kishan Singh, one of the Hoshiarpur murderers, is a brother of Bishan Singh's). It was purely mercantile transaction. The mules and buffaloes were for Jangh Bahadur, and his son Babbar Jung. I

met them both and spoke with them. Several buffaloes had already been sent to Jangh Bahadur. Nihal Singh and Asa Singh, servants of Jangh Bahadur, had previously taken buffaloes, -the former from Faridkot, the latter from Punjab. These men are not Kukas but ordinary Sikhs. There are some 15 or 20 Sikhs in his service. One is an Adjutant, another a Jamadar.

In return for our animals, we got from Jangh Bahadur some Rupees 500 or Rupees 600 cash, a kasture necklace and a shawl; also a ghunt, which subsequently died from the heat. He also gave us two kukries.

My duties as Subha are to look after the stable and breeding establishment, and sell the stock. I sold several horses at Hardwar a few years ago. The profits go the "Langar Khana". I go about with Ram Singh. I make Kukas.

I have never drilled men. Dont' know drill. Can write and read Gurmukhi.

I did not see Mangal Singh and Gurmukh Singh just before the Raikot Murders.

I was sent by Ram Singh to start the mastanas off to their homes, and they abused me and would not go. I then sent for others, and finally the Guru came and begged them to go off quietly. They said they were hungry, so he fed them in his compund, and then they went off, and I told the thanadar to look after them, and wrote their names.

I can't say why a good religion produces such bad effects. Their time for dying, had come; so also had the time of the people they killed.

I have no wish to do anything but to serve God.

The nine men now with me, including Man Singh, were at Bhaini at the Mela. Mangal Singh was not.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—Intelligent, clever, and determined-looking, much the ablest of the Subhas.

J.W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION

I think that the above evidence, with his own admissions, show that Sahib Singh has preached sedition, encouraged the late outbreak, and has taken next to Ram Singh the leading part in propagating the spread of the Kuka sect, of which the avowed object and consummation is the restoration of the Sikh and the expulsion of the British Government. He is intelligent, clever and determined. If allowed to return, Kukaism would at once revive and become troublesome. He should never be allowed to return to the Punjab, but be kept in banishment for the rest of his life.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

No. II.—Summary of Evidence regarding Rur Singh.

RUR SINGH is brother of Sahib Singh No. 1. He is a family man, and keeps a carpenter's shop at Amritsar. Has been a Subha five years.

In the lists for 1866 Rur Singh is described as a leading disciple at Amritsar. -in those of 1867 as an important follower. (*Appendix A of 1867.*)

Deputy Inspector General says he has considerable influence in Amritsar, and was undoubtedly cognizant of the Amritsar murders before their commission. (*Appendix A of 1868. B1.*)

Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh says he was present at Bhaini on 11th and 12th January, and was arrested along with 15 other Kukas on his return to Amritsar by rail on the 15th idem. (*B.2*)

The District Superintendents of Hushiarpur, Lahore and Ferozepur report him as a Subha. (*B 4, 7 and 10*)

In his deposition before Captain Beadon on 18th July, before the Kukas were suspected of the Amritsar murders, which occurred on the 15th (June 1871 - editor); Harnam Singh stated that, if the Kukas had committed the crime, Rur Singh, with one or two more, would know all about it. Lehna Singh, transported for his share in the Amritsar murders stated to colonel Baillie that Rur

Singh was consulted before the Amritsar murders, and approved them, as did all the city Kukas. (*Appendix K*)

In the depositions before the Deputy Commissioner, Ludianah, Rur Singh is stated to have taught sedition in common with the other Subhas, but no special instances of his doing so are mentioned. (*Appendix C*)

He was present at Bhaini at the outbreak.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Rur Singh, son of Dial Singh, caste carpenter, age 41 years, of Banwalipur.

I now live and work in Amritsar. Have a family. Baba Ram Singh made me Kuka in Sambat 1917. Was made an instructor of religion some five years ago.

Was with Ram Singh at the Anandpur Mela. It was after this mela that I was allowed to impart "the name." I know nothing of the Amritsar murders, or I should have told the Deputy Commissioner.

I don't go about to melas with Ram Singh, -I merely teach in the city; I am too busy at my trade to do much else. I went to Bhaini for the Lohri to present Ram Singh with a window frame. I left for Amritsar on the Monday after the mela.

I did not see the mastanas being busy putting up the window, but I heard they were giving trouble, -what, I don't know, - and that Ram Singh had sent a list of them to the thanadar. I know nothing more.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—This does not seem a man of mark or character; probably owes his position to being Sahib Singh's brother.

The 24th April 1872.

J.W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner

OPINION.

This man practically admits that he was Subha for the city of Amritsar, and there is little doubt that he knew of the butcher murders being planned. He is a family man, and earns his living. He might be allowed to return in two years' time on condition of living quietly in his home, attending no fairs and holding no meetings.

J.W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

No III.—Summary of Evidence regarding Lakka Singh.

LAKKA SINGH was formerly in the Sher Dil Police Battalion, and was discharged, it is stated, by Colonel McAndrew, for misconduct. He was made a Kuka ten years ago, and has ever since had his headquarters at Bhaini, but wandered about attending melas and fairs. Was a good deal at Sadoura in Ambalah, "eating mangoes", as he calls it, but the largest colony of Kukas in the Ambala District was the result. He pretends not know what a Subha is, and disclaims being one; but, in addition to other evidence, his fellow prisoners say he is a Subha. He appears as a leading Subha in all the printed lists for 1867, and as having made a disturbance at the Bisakhi Mela at Amritsar in that year. The following are from the reports of Police Officers: (*Appendix A of 1868.*)

Deputy Inspector General, Lahore - "Turbulent, zealous propagandist", gives names of witnesses to prove the same. (*Appendix B 5*)

Deputy Superintendent, Police, Lahore, gives depositions of witnesses who know him as a zealous propagandist. One, a zaildar of Majanga, says he heard him proclaim the advent of the Sikh Raj. The District Superintendent, Police, Captain Menzies, is personally acquainted with him, and considers him most turbulent of the Subhas. (*Appendix B 7*)

District Superintendent, Police, Hushiarpur, - "Turbulent and fanatical." (*Appendix B 4*)

Deputy Inspector General, Ambala, - "Equal in importance to

Sahib Singh, and more intriguing and deficient in temper and bearing." *(Appendix B 1)*

District Superintendent, Police, Ferozpur,—"Well-known Subha". In his defence in the Raikot murder case Gurmukh Singh named Lakha Singh as one whom he had met two days before the murder at Bhaini. Lakha Singh called as a witness, denied it. *(Appendix B 10)*

In a number of depositions taken by the Police Officer and Deputy Commissioner of Ludianah, Lakha Singh is named with the other prisoners generally as preaching sedition and predicting the speedy accession of Ram Singh to the Government of the country.

The special evidence against him is as follows:- (6) Bhola Singh of Bhaini describes Lakha Singh as specially vehement in his exhortations to the party who attacked Malodh. *(Appendix C 1)*

1. Bela Singh states that he has heard Lakha Singh give out in his preaching that, if all would become Kukas, Kukas would reign. Considers Lakha Singh, with Sahib Singh, Mangal Singh and Kahn Singh as the most dangerous of the Kukas.

2. Dewa Singh agrees in the same opinion.

3. Dowlat Ram says Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh and Mangal Singh are most dangerous and seditious of the Subhas.

4. Partab Singh has heard Lakha Singh proclaim that there would be a Kuka Raj.

5. Nihal Singh has heard Lakha Singh tell the Jats that if they all became Kukas there would soon be a Kuka Raj.

6. Ghamanda Singh of Bhaini states that he saw Lakha Singh with the mastana party at the well, as they were about to proceed to Kotla.

7. Bhagwana Chaukidar of Bhaini states, as he also stated in his deposition before me, that Lakha Singh was told by Ram Singh to assist Hira Singh and his band, and accordingly he went with Harnam Singh, brother of Gyani Singh, hanged last autumn, to the well and saw them off, saying to them—"Go on, we will join you".

(Appendix C 3)

8. Lakha, Tambardar of Bhaini, states that at darbar the night previously, on Hira Singh and Lehna saying that they meant to attack Maloh Kotla, as it was without a head, and getting arms from thence, go on and attack Nabha, Patiala, Jind, Ferozpur and Delhi, and asked Ram Singh's help; Lakha Singh assented, and said he would help. (Lakha did not state this to me, but described the darbar, and referred to talk about the attack on Kotla). Next day he was present when Hira Singh and his band were fed; heard Ram Singh sent Lakha Singh to start the band off; went also with Lakha Singh and Harnam Singh, to whom Lehna Singh said-"We are going to take badla" (reprisal) for "Gyani Singh. Harnam Singh and Lakha Singh said-"Go and we will follow". (C 3)

9. The same story as to what was said at the well is told by one of the gang in his defence on his trial for the attack on Malodh. (Gyani).

**Statement of Lakha Singh, son of Rana Singh, age 36 of
Malodh, Ludiana.**

I was formerly in the Sher Dil, and when it was broken up, was drafted into the Police, and finally got leave to resign from Captain Ramsay of the Police. This was in Sambat 1918.

I then took up some land in Mulpur, Jalandhar, but gave it up in about 18 months, as I could not work it alone. I then went to Bhaini.

I had been made a Kuka by Ram Singh of Ludiana in 1916 or 1917 the famine year. I remained at Bhaini feeding his cattle and helping at the cooking house.

I did not leave Bhaini for two or three years. I then began to go about here and there. I went to Sadaura to eat mangoes, then used to go to Bham bee in Lahore to look after a stallion of mine. In

J. 1861 A.D. editor.

fact, I have been moving about (to shrines and holy places) more or less, returning to Bhaini at intervals, ever since. I have made a few converts.

I am not a regular Subha. I have no district in particular. I told Ram Singh, I had made converts, and he approved: all my fellow-prisoners are Subhas except Man Singh. I believe Mangal Singh got leave to make Kukas in Dholpur and that he also is a Subha.

I did not get into any row at the Baisakhi Fair at Amritsar. I never taught at Bhumbec that Ram Singh was an "avatar" (incarnation), nor that the Sikh Raj was at hand.

I was present at the Holi Mela at Kotha in Ferozpur last March;¹ also at the Baisakhi at Dumduma Sahib, but I was always at work in the cook-room. All I know is that a Mirassi was repeating 'sabad (stanzas) only of the Granth. Lehna Singh and Hira Singh; as Jowahir Singh was passing, hit him with their elbows, and taves were flourished but the parties were separated.

On the occasion of the outbreak at Tirajpur the people had collected their money and grain at Patiwalla (or Belawala) or (Bolewah), where Maluk Singh lives; and about a month after Government had punished four men for the disturbance which occurred at Tirajpur² Ram Singh sent me, Gyani Singh and Jowahir Singh to Patiwalla to threaten the people and to distribute the money and grain, among them again and tell them to go back to their usual avocations; they were collected on that particular day for some marriage, and we took advantage of that collection to speak to the people.

At the late Lohri (or Maghi) Fair at Bhaini I arrived from Chuni in Lahore on the Tuesday. Hira Singh and Lehna Singh quarrelled with me about the bread they got, and Ram Singh told me he had no control over them. I went and told the thanadar. On Wednesday I was again sent to tell the thanedar. The men left it the afternoon on the Friday or Saturday; and on the second day I went

1. Khota, annual Holi festival of the year 1871 A.D. -editor.

2. Thirajwala (Ferozpur) disturbance, occurred in February 1869.

See Nahar Singh's Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs-page 105.-editor.

by Ram Singh's orders to Ludianah to report in case the thanadar had not done so, as Ram Singh was sure the men were dangerous.

I did not go with Ram Singh when he went to quiet the men, because the thanadar had advised me to keep out of the way for fear Hira Singh and Lehna Singh should kill me. It was Sahib Singh who went with Ram Singh.

I did not see them again. They fed at the langar, where I was busy distributing the food; but there were hundreds of others.

All my fellow-prisoners, including Man Singh, but excluding Mangal Singh, were present at Bhaini at the fair.

Rur Singh has the town of Amritsar in his charge and the neighbouring villages.

Kahn Singh had formerly charge of Hushiarpur, but has lately been in the Ambala direction.

Sudh Singh is the Ambala Subha, but he was not at Bhaini at the Lohri Mela.

Brahma Singh is Subha of Sialkot and Gujranwala, Jowahir of Firozpur, Mulluk Singh is also of Firozpur; Hukma Singh has the Nabha ilaqua, Pahara Singh lives in Sear, and has charge of the villages round.

In one family there are many miads. I am not responsible for what other Kukas may do.

I will be glad to work for Government for Rupees 4 per mensem.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note : Looks a good for nothing.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

The 23rd April 1872.

OPINION.

This man is clearly the most turbulent of the Subhas. There can be no doubt his preaching sedition, and his having seen Hira

Singh's hand off with encouraging words. He should remain in perpetual banishment.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

IV. - Summary of Evidence regarding Kahn Singh.

This man was a Havildar in Nao-Nihal Singh's Regiment, and was made a Kuka by the founder, Balak Ram, (Singh) at Hazro, thirty years ago, at the same time as Ram Singh, who was a private in the same regiment. He is 60 years of age. He is now a fakir.

He was one of the three first Subhas, the others being Jowahir Singh and Brahma Singh. This he admits himself. He also appears as Subha of the Jalandhar District in Gairda Singh's report quoted in Selected Papers VII of 1867, and appears in all the lists of leading Subhas for that year, and is mentioned by Captain Menzies, then District Superintendent of Amritsar, as one of the four most turbulent Kukas at the Baisakhi Mela in that year. (*Appendix A of 1867*)

He again appears as Subha in the Selected Papers (XII.) of 1869. (*Appendix A of 1868*)

The Deputy Inspector General of Police reports him as a well-known energetic propagandist, chiefly among soldiers and police, also that one of his servants wounded a man at Hushiarpur for smoking. Kahn Singh admits this. (*Appendix B 4*)

The Deputy Inspector General of Ambala makes a very similar report. (*Appendix B 1*)

The District Superintendent of Hushiarpur reports him as a man of dissolute habits; no fixed residence; also that he was apprehended by the Police and kept under surveillance for some time at Hushiarpur in consequence of his holding a meeting under suspicious circumstances just after the butcher murders at Amritsar. (*Appendix B 4*)

Mangal Singh, when on his defence in the Raikot case, named

Kahn Singh as one of the men he had seen at Bhaini just two days before the murders were committed. Kahn Singh admits having gone with Sahib Singh to Nipal to present Ram Singh's present to Jangh Bahadur. This, as I have pointed out in Sahib Singh's case, was practically an embassy from Ram Singh to Jangh Bahadur. I have also noted that they were accompanied in the trip by Attar Singh and Thaman Singh (since absconded) in the Morinda murder case, and who, there is little doubt, were out on a butcher-killing expedition when they came across the unfortunate Chaukidar at Morinda. (See the evidence of another Kahn Singh, filed with my report of 4th November.)¹

Lehna and Ram Singh depose before Deputy Commissioner of Hushiarpur to a Kuka meeting held in their village last July at which Kahn Singh was present, and the Kukas openly told the people the Sikh rule was to come in 1928 (the present year) and urged all to join the sect, as they would be well off. (*Appendix D 1*)

Kahn Singh was in Bhaini at late outbreak.

In the deposition taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludianah, Kahn Singh is said, in common with the other prisoners, to be in the habit of preaching sedition. (*Appendix C*)

The special evidence against Kahn Singh is as follow:

Bela states that he heard Kahn Singh giving out that, if all would become Kukas, Kukas would reign. (*C. Evidence taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludianah.*)

Partab Singh states that he has heard Kahn Singh teach that there would be a Kuka Raj. and all who joined would get jagirs.

Dowlat Ram makes a similar statement.

¹ Page 147 and 149 of 'Goeroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs', (vol. I) by Nahar Singh. -editor.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Kahn Singh alias Nihang Singh
age 60, caste Jat, of Chak in Malehr Kotla.

I was a Havildar, and Ram Singh a Sipahi in Nao Nihai Singh's Regiment, and used to be on duty with Brigade-Major Mackeson.

I was made a Kuka in 1898, in Sher Singh's time, by Balak Singh in Hazro, when Ram Singh was also made Kuka.

Left the army when it threw down its arms at Rawalpindi.¹ I then started a water-mill at Malodh in Husiarpur. Remained there till two years ago. The water ran short, and I made my head quarters at Sadoura in Ambala.

When Ram Singh was confined to Bhaini I went to McLeod Sahib (the Lieutenant-Governor) and said that the people were in great difficulties on account of the Baha (Ram Singh) not being able to go about to marriages and worship. McLeod Sahib said: "You can go in his place." I told this to Ram Singh, and he said that, if anyone wished to be initiated, I could give him "the name" (**This is becoming a Subha.*)

At the same time Jowahir Singh, Sudh Singh, and Brahma Singh were made Subhas. Some six months later Sahib Singh was made a Subha.

Man Singh is a zemindar, not a Subha; the rest of the prisoners are Subhas.

I don't know if Mangal Singh is Subha.

I was at the Amritsar mela and the Anundpur mela with Mangal Singh.

I did go to try and get off three men who were in prison for a row about smoking a hukha, - Mian Singh, Tial Singh and Jainal Singh.

I was not with Baba Naina Singh in the disturbances made not by him but by his chelas. I was with my regiment.

1. 14 March 1849, A.D. -editor.

I went with Sahib Singh to Nipal to sell buffaloes and mules. One Kirpal Singh wrote to Ram Singh to say there was sale for such animals, and he bought the mules, and Sahib Singh the buffaloes, and took them. Ram Singh gave us the order. We took them by rail. When we got there Kirpal Singh introduced us to Babbar Jangh, and the latter to his father Jangh Bahadur. Sahib Singh arranged the transaction. It was purely a commercial transaction. We got a shawl, a necklace of Kasturi and gold, and Rupees 500 cash, also a horse, and the Resident gave us a pass for two kukris to protect our property. I don't know how the kukris came to our lodgings.

I was at Hushiarpur, and was placed under surveillance at the time of the Amritsar murders.

I was at Hushiarpur at the time of the Raikot murders. Mangal Singh could not have seen me at Bhaini. I was under orders from the Police not to move from Hushiarpur.

I have made Kukas of a Havildar, and some 15 men of the Hushiarpur Police.

I have been a good deal in Ambala City, staying 15 or 20 days at a time at Sher Singh and Mastan Singh's house. They work in partnership. I go whenever they want to "bhog."

I was present at the Lohri fair. I heard that Ram Singh had sent Lakha Singh to give warning that there were several troublesome men there, who were insulting everybody, even Subhas, and also that their names had been sent in to the thanadar, but I saw nothing. I suffer from rupture, and cannot move about. I was also suffering from dysentery.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

The 25th April 1872.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

I have had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of this man. He is a cunning fellow, very much of the same stamp as Lakha Singh, - not so intelligent as Sahib Singh.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

Kahn Singh is a man of much weight, - certainly, putting Mangal Singh aside, the third in importance among the Subhas. I would keep him in banishment for the rest of his life.

J. W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

No. V.—Summary of Evidence regarding Brahma Singh.

BRAHMA SINGH, by his own account, is 50 years old, became a wandering fakir at an early age, and was made a Kuka by Balak Singh at Hazro in Sambat 1916, and appointed a Subha for the trans-Ravi country by Ram Singh in 1921.

In the selected papers (XII.) of 1867 he appears as trans-Ravi propagandist; also in selected papers (XV.) of 1868 as Subha; and in these papers Captain Menzies reports him as holding numerous meetings in the Amritsar District, after which graves were destroyed and Thakordwaras and Masjids injured, though the offences could not be brought home to the Kukas. (*Appendix A. of 1867 & Appendix A. of 1868*)

The Deputy Inspector General, Ambala, and the District Superintendents of Lahore and Hoshiarpur, report on him as a propagandist Subha. The Deputy Inspector General, Lahore, notes the inflammatory nature of his teachings, and states that he had been invited to the meeting at Lopoki, which resulted in the Amritsar murders. (*Appendix B, 1-4-5 & B 6.*)

Brahma Singh admits that he was at a meeting at which one of the murderers, Mehr Singh, was present about the same time; and, although it is not clear, as far as the evidence at present collected goes, that this was the same meeting, still the fact that he was at the village when the Amritsar outrage was planned, and about the time at which it was planned, is worthy of note.

This man's proceedings seem to have been closely watched by the District Superintendent of Police, Gujranwala, since the

Amritsar butcher murders, and on the 25th July last that officer commenced reporting on his movements, as he considered him a highly dangerous character. He has also supported his previous reports with the depositions of 20 highly respectable men, one of whom (No. 17) states he himself heard him exhorting people to become Kukas, and predicting the near advent of "Sikh rule". The other witnesses prove that it was notorious that Brahma Singh, immediately after the butcher murders, gave orders that women should wear the short drawers in order that they might become martyrs with decency; that both men and women should collect as much cash for the coming disturbances as possible; that the war was to break out this year; that the Sikh Raj would soon come; that incarnations of Guru Gobind's martyrs had killed the butchers at Amritsar, & c. (*Appendix B & c.*)

Brahma Singh was, as he admits, present at Bhaini at the time of the late outbreak, and was arrested there. He is mentioned by the various witnesses, whose evidence was taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, as one amongst a number of Subhas who encouraged the mastanas in their evil designs, but no special act or saying of his is recorded, and it does not seem that he took a prominent part, possibly because few, if any, of his own trans-Ravi men were present at the mela. (*Appendix C.*)

The following is the evidence recorded by the Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala, regarding the seditious nature of Brahma Singh's preaching.

In addition to a good deal of hearsay evidence showing that the nature of his teaching was notorious, the following is direct:

No. 1. Dya Singh—Frequently heard him urge people to become Kukas, as the Khalsa Raj would soon come, and that of the British end; also that of Guru Ram Singh's "martyrs" had killed the butchers. (*Appendix E 1*)

No. 10, Shahbaz Khan—Heard him in June last, at a large meeting, say that Government would change in two or two and-a-half months, and the Raj of the Kukas begin.

No. 13, Nihal Singh—Heard him say openly, 16 months ago, that all who did not become Kukas would be sorry for it; for the reign of Ram Singh was to come.

No. 16, Gulab, a Muhammadan—Drahma Singh said to me in a laughing way- "Why don't you become a Kuka?" I said I was content. He said-"You will see, when the Maharajah's reign begins, what will happen." This was two years ago. They pulled up tobacco and threw down a shrine. (*Smoking is forbidden by Ram Singh*.)

No. 22, Bira—Heard him say the Khalsa Raj was fast approaching.

No. 23, Hira Singh—Says at first Brahma Singh used to be very cautious, but in June last, in his presence, he told the people to put jangias (short drawers) on their women; otherwise, when the men went to battle, the women would be uncovered; also that houses, & c., should be sold, and cash only kept, as it would be useful by-and-bye; also that in 2 or 2½ months Ram Singh's Raj would begin, and then those who had not been "named," i.e., become Kukas, would have cause to regret; and also, after the butcher murders at Amritsar, heard him say that Guru Ram Singh's martyrs had done the business.

No. 25, Gobind, a Brahmin Chaukidar—Heard him say, some nine months ago, that those who did not become Kukas would regret it when the Raj of Guru Ram Singh commenced that all the people would get arms; also said-"Come, come, there will be a cry of akal, akal, soon;" also that the Guru's martyrs had killed the butchers; also said plenty of things that he dare not say now.

No. 28, Kamah—Heard him, last autumn, urge people to become Kukas, or they would regret it when Ram Singh began to reign shortly.

Before the Assistant Commissioner, Sialkot, Fattch Din heard him, three years ago, preach the restoration of the Khalsa. Last November he came through the village crying out "akal", "akal." It was well known he was preaching his Raj. (*Appendix E 3*)

Kapur Singh—Heard him promise that the Raj of Ram Singh was about to be established, and that those who did not join now,

should not have the chance afterwards. *Fazl* heard him say much the same.

Bhai Jaiwal Singh—Says he used to say that the Raj of the akal was about to begin; even the trees and shrubs would join the cause; those who did not join would be punished; those who did, made Subhas. He first named 1928, then 1929, then 1930, as the year in which the new reign was to begin. He gave instructions to the people to be ready to go to Bhaini in Magh when he called them there. *Atira Mal* heard him exhort people to become Kukas, or they would repent it. The Raj was about to begin.

Arjan—Heard him tell people that the Khalsa Raj would begin in Kartick. He gave it to be understood that the new reign was to be established by force. I remonstrated with him. He said they had great force. *Ganda* heard him warn people to take the "name" (i.e., become Kuka) now, or they would regret it. *Kutubdin* heard him foretell the Kuka Raj in two or three months' time. Promised to make him a Subha if he became a convert. Said they were to commence, in a corner of the kingdom at Anandpur, immense operations, and that Ram Singh had arms in his house. *Kutubdin* heard him say to crowds, "Kuka Raj will soon begin; become Kukas, or you will regret it."

Khlass Khan—Heard him predict that in time he would become king; the lucky would join, the unlucky would not; asked him to join the Kukas, promising great worldly profit; said that proceedings would commence from the direction of north-west by west.* (**Perhaps the Akheid of Swat was hinted at.*)

Bysakha Singh, his own servant, describes him as equal in position and authority to Sahib Singh, Kahn Singh, Lakha Singh and Pahara Singh, the Guru's Lieutenants.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Brahma Singh, son of Gulab Singh, about 50,
Jat, Village Duriapur in Kythai.

I became an Udasi Sadh as a beardless youth.

In Sambat 1916, returning from Kashmir, met Balak Singh at Hazro and was made Kuka; not so; I was told the name (*i.e.* Ram Nam).

I was living in Gill in 1921, and met Ram Singh at Amritsar and came on with him to Bhaini. He told me that it was a great trouble to the people to come all the way from Sialkot and Gujranwala to Bhaini to be made Kukas, and that I should undertake the business. I excused myself, and said I wanted to be quiet. He said, "You must do it," and I undertook it. I go about where people ask me. Jotha Singh is in the same district, and we sometimes go together, sometimes separately. I have two horses, and wonder what has become of them.

I was at a bhog at Lopoki some 15 days before the Amritsar murders. It was held on the death of Mian Singh, who had died two days after the Bisakhi at Tongal; but he owned land at Kamion. He left the land to me, but I gave it up in the Tahsil.

Jhanda Singh and Mehr Singh (absconded in Amritsar murder case) were present probably; cannot be certain; then says Mehr Singh was there; not sure of Jhanda Singh.

After the bhog I went to the Chela-ke-ther, Ajnala Tahsil; then Fattchwal; thence to Mandala, and that night on to Kala Katai; thence made a double march to Sansera, two ~~cos~~ from Gujranwala; next day through the Gujranwala bazar to Blowani Daskakot; next day to Taran, where the marriage was (I was to perform the marriage); and so on; where anyone took me I went.

I did teach the women to wear the "kuch," but merely for decency when working, not that they should be decent when martyrs. I never told them to collect cash for coming disturbances, nor yet that the Sikh Raj was coming.

The people hate me because I tell them not to steal or kill their infants, or sell their daughters or sisters; therefore they tell lies about me.

I have not been in Hoshiarpur for ten years; that is Kahn Singh's district.

I used to live at Mutadi (Muthada-editor) in Phillour in Sambat 1918 or 1919.

I was in Sialkot some 15 days before the Lohri. I then went to Bhaini.

I know nothing of what was going on at Bhaini, as I was ill with liver; but I heard the mastanas were troublesome and had been reported to the thanadar, and that Lakha Singh was sent to Ludiana to warn the Government.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note: Seems to me a really religious man. May become enthusiastic when excited.

The 24th April 1872.

J.W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

THERE can, I think, be no doubt that Brahma Singh has, for some years passed, been systematically preaching sedition. There can be little doubt that he knew of the plan to murder the butchers at Amritsar before it took place, and no doubt that he expressed his approval of it afterwards.

He holds in the trans-Ravi part of the country, a position equal to that of Sahib Singh, Kahn Singh and Lakha Singh on this side of the Ravi, and on the above ground requires treatment similar to theirs (i.e., banishment for life).

There is, however, a difference in the character of the man, as far, at least, as I can Judge of it. He seems to me more of a religious enthusiast and less of a mere political adventurer than the others.

Such a character acting on Sikh nationality would be only the more dangerous in times of excitement; but should the Kuka sect have become torpid a few years hence (say ten years), I think there would be less danger in allowing the return of Brahma Singh under the same restrictions as Rur Singh and others, than in allowing Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh and Kahn Singh to return.

I would also point out that although a stronger case as to seditious preaching has been made out against Brahma Singh than against the rest, this is, I believe, in a measure due to greater activity in hunting up and recording evidence on the subject by the Local Police Officer, than has been exhibited elsewhere, - also that, having only one man to deal with, it was easier to have effective evidence recorded in the trans-Ravi enquiry, than it was in Ludiana, where all the eleven prisoners come under consideration.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

No. VI.—Summary of Evidence regarding Jowahir Singh.

JOWAHIR SINGH became a wandering Nirmalla Sadh 25 years ago, and a Kuka eleven years ago, was made a Subha 7 years ago.

In 1863 he was reported by Gainda Singh as one of Ram Singh's two lieutenants, and described as "merely a raving fanatic." (*Appendix A of 1867*)

He appears in the list for 1866 as propagandist for the Malwa. He is mentioned in three different reports as Subha in the year 1867. (*Appendix A of 1868.*)

The Deputy Inspector General, Ambala, reports that he possesses immense influence. Ram Singh himself bows to him. Is quiet and well-behaved. (*Appendix B 1.*)

Late Inspector, Police, Narain Singh, reports that he is said to be Ram Singh's appointed successor. (*B-2.*)

District Superintendent, Police, Hoshiarpur, enters him in his list of Subhas. (*B 4.*)

District Superintendent, Police, Ferozpur, in whose district he lived till lately, reports him as having great influence and being a dangerous character. (*B 10.*)

The same officer records evidence proving him to be an active proselyting Subha, in constant communication with Ram Singh. (*B II.*)

In the evidence taken by Duputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Jowahir Singh is named along with the other prisoners generally as inciting to rebellion and encouraging the recent outbreak. (*Appendix 6.*)

More particularly No.2, Ghamandah Singh, considers Jowahir Singh, with four others, the most dangerous amongst the Subhas.

In his deposition before me Sukhu, Lambardar of Bhaini, describing the darbar at which the outbreak was discussed, and which was held the night before the party started, states that Jowahir Singh sat with Sahib Singh and Lakha Singh in front of the Guru's Charpai (i.e., in the place of honor), the other Subhas sitting on either side.

The evidence recorded by the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozpur regarding Jowahir Singh is rather favorable. They all, with one exception, say they never heard him use seditious language, but they prove that he was an active propagandist of the Kuka doctrines. (*Appendix F 1.*)

No. 1, Gurdit Singh, a neighbour, has not seen Jowahir Singh since after the Raikot butcher murders.

No.2, Karm Singh of Bilaspur, where Jowahir Singh lately lived—"Jowahir Singh left Bilaspur about the time of the Raikot murders, and from Raikot went on to Bhaini without coming back to Bilaspur."

No.3, Anup Singh, states that Jowahir Singh went to Raikot after the murders.

Jowahir Singh, of Samad Bhai, deposes before the Assistant Commissioner, Ferozpur that he has heard the prisoner announce to crowds that in 1928 the English rule would end and the Khalsa be re-established, and that all who were not Kukas would be treated like dogs. Also heard Kukas say Jowahir Singh was to succeed Ram Singh. (*Appendix F 3.*)

In his defence before the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Gyani Singh, Subha, stated that Jowahir Singh had given orders that the number of Kukas in the British regiments was not to be made known. (*Appendix G*)

Jowahir Singh was present at Bhaini during the outbreak and arrested there.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Jowahir Singh, son of Dal Singh of Diloli in Thana Dalcarn, Tahsil Moga, Ferozpur, age 50, caste Jat.

My father died when I was 5 years old. I used to cultivate, but became a Nirmalla Sadh in Sambat 1905, and have wandered all over the country. Was four years in Benares.

I became a Kuka in Sambat 1917. I found they were good people. I also became sadh of a well at Bilaspur in Siroga.

Was made Subha some seven years ago, and about the same time Kehr Singh, Sud Singh and Narain Singh were also made Subhas. All the prisoners are Subhas except Man Singh. I do not know if Mangal Singh is a Subha.

Narain Singh has gone to the south, but not to make coverts; if he had, he would have had Ram Singh's orders to go and do so.

I always go with Ram Singh to all melas. I was at the Diwali, at Murghi and at Anandpur, also. At Damdama I was told that Gyani Singh had taken a talwar from a Mohra Kuka in the Nabha service and put it on, the Police took it from him.

There was a disturbance at the Holi at Kothi. At Pittohi Hira Singh of Sakraudi was walking about with his wife's hari in his hand, and I had it thrown away, in consequence of which he hit me with his knee at the Holi Mela, and the people being angry at this, a row began.

I and Ram Singh separated them. I did not hear that Ram Singh had said, "why don't you fight with Government if you want to fight?" I did not hear anything of this kind. Ram Singh did say one day that in my former life I had been "jamaband" "the bear man."

I go a good deal to Bhaini. I used to itinerate a little in the Firozpur District, but there are so many Subhas that I do not do so much.

I was at Bhaini at the Lohri Mela. I had been there for two or three months. I had come for the Dussera¹ and Ram Singh persuaded me to stay on.

I lived on the occasion of the late Maghi Mela at Ranji in an enclosure of my own. I heard that Lehna Singh and Hira Singh were saying that they would take Malchir Kotla and Nabha and Patiala; also that Ram Singh had told Sahib Singh to tell the thanadar.

I cannot say how Kukas do such evil actions; there are bad and good in every religion.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—Jowahir Singh seems a genuine fakir, and does not look to me dangerous, but evidently keeps back a good deal that he knows. A great deal of the above was extracted with difficulty from him.

J.W. MACNABB,

The 25th April 1872

Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

JOWAHIR SINGH has, I think, some of the religious element and less of the political than any of the other Subhas. He does not seem to be turbulent or intriguing, and the evidence of seditious preaching by him individually is not strong, though I by no means accept as conclusive the statement that "he did not preach sedition" made by his neighbours, who would not fail to be influenced by his genuine religious reputation. I am, however, convinced from the manner of his making his statement, the position he occupied with Ram Singh, and the fact of his going to Raikot immediately after the murders, probably remaining there during the trial and the

1. Dussehra festival of the year 1871 A.D. was celebrated at Kuka headquarters, Bhaini Sahib. -editor.

detention of the murderers there pending the confirmation of the sentence against them, also of his going thence to Bhaini and remaining there at Ram Singh's elbow till the outbreak six months later,- from all this I am convinced that nothing was done without his knowledge. His conduct, therefore, cannot be considered as otherwise than culpable, though not to the same extent as the three above mentioned. I would, however, deprecate his return to the Panjab as most dangerous, as his position with Ram Singh and his own personal reputation for sanctity would consider him at once to become Ram Singh's successor, revive the dreams of the fanatical, and give sanction and consistency to the schemes of the intriguing. Unless, therefore, there is a disappearance of Kukaism to an extent that we cannot at present anticipate, I would recommend that Jowahir Singh's banishment be perpetual.

J.W.MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner

No. VII.-Summary of Evidence regarding Maluk Singh.

MALUK SINGH, unlike the generality of the Subhas, has a family. Was made a Kuka eight years ago, and a Subha six years ago.

Has lately left his home in Firozpur and gone to work on the canal not far from Bhaini. A number of people from the lower parts of Firozpur and from Sirsa have been driven to a similar move by the late scarcity. Among these are a number of Kukas. There is nothing to show whether Maluk Singh's move was one of family necessity or was made with a view to have a force of Kukas under their local leader in the vicinity of Bhaini.

Maluk Singh appears a leading Subha in the Police Reports for 1866, also in three of the lists of 1867. (*Appendix A of 1867 & Appendix of 1868*)

In February 1869, a band of some fifty Kukas, having collected their goods and cash into a common store at Maluk Singh's village of Phulehwala, went on to Mastan Singh's village of Tirajpur on the borders of Sirsa, and there declared the English rule at an end and that of the Khalsa commenced. Maluk Singh was of the party; but on the arrival on the third day of two English Officers with a party of Police, they were induced to disperse. Maluk Singh, who had found his authority usurped by Mastan Singh, assisted in bringing about this result. The case was tried as one of riot, instead of insurrection under orders from Government, and Maluk Singh got off with a warning. (*Appendix of 1870.*)

The Deputy Inspector General reports him as a family man, - a successful propagandist of considerable influence. (*Appendix B 1.*)

District Superintendent, Police, Ferozpur, reports him as formerly a Subha of note, - latterly not much thought of. (*Appendix B 10.*)

Evidence recorded by the same officer supports this, and adds he has latterly concealed the fact that he is a Kuka. (*Appendix B 11*)

In the depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Maluk Singh is spoken of in common with the other prisoners as preaching sedition. (*Appendix C.*)

In the deposition taken by Deputy Commissioner, Ferozpur, Maluk Singh appears as a well-known propagandist, but his teaching sedition is denied. It is also proved that, as he himself admits, he was present at the outbreak at Tirajpur in February 1869. (*Appendix E*)

In his deposition, No.3, before Assistant Commissioner, Ferozpur, Badhawa Singh, Lambardar of Phulleh, states: "I turned Maluk Singh out of my village after the disturbance of February 1869. He had at that time asked me to become a Kuka, and that he would make me a Subha when he got his kingdom; also that English rule would soon come to an end. He was very active in the Tirajpur disturbances, and collected treasure with that object."

Dula Singh, No.4, says he never heard him preach sedition, but he collected treasure and took part in the Mokatsar (i.e. Tirajpur) affair.

Lakha Singh, Subha, states that he went down by Ram Singh's orders to redistribute the money and grain that had been collected at Maluk Singh's village. (*Lakha Singh Subins' statement.*)

Note.—I will be observed that this money was in addition to the Rupees 5,000 found by Mr. Turton Smith, so that a considerable sum must have been collected.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Maluk Singh, son of Sukha Singh, 39 years old, Village Phullehwala, Mukatsar, in Ferozpur.

RAM SINGH made me a Kuka at Bhaini in 1921.¹ After two years was made a Subha. I was at Tirajpur [i.e. at the outbreak]. There was a mela there. A number of mastanas had collected their property at my village, but under Samand Singh (alias Mastan Singh). After they had been punished, Ram Singh sent Jownhir Singh, Gyani Singh and Lakha Singh to warn us, and I was taken to Bhaini for three days.

I have gone to the work on the canal on account of the scarcity, but have not parted with my land.

I was present at the Lohri Mela, but left the night of the mela. Did not see the mastanas.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—Looks as if he could become a mastana; otherwise a quite fellow.

J.W. MACNABB,

The 23rd April 1872.

Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

It appears from the above that Maluk Singh was an influential and seditious fanatic in February 1869, but that since that time his zeal has considerably cooled down. He is also a family man, and owns land. I think he might with safety be allowed to return at the end of two years, on condition of remaining at his home under the surveillance of the Police, and never to attend fairs or meetings of any kind.

J.W.MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

VIII.—Summary of Evidence regarding Man Singh.

MAN SINGH became a Kuka seven years ago. He is not a Subha, but a Sub-Subha in the Firozpur District. He owns land, most of which he has mortgaged. He lives at his own village.

He does not appear in the lists of leading men for 1866 and 1867; but in the report on the outbreak at Tirajpur in February 1869 one Man Singh appears, but not in a prominent position, and was discharged without trial. He denies that this is he, but there is evidence to prove that it is. (*Appendix A of 1870.*)

The Deputy Inspector General, Amabala, reports that he is not a Subha, but a Sub-Subha of Jewahir Singh, and allowed to make converts. (*Appendix B I.*)

The District Superintendent, Police, Firozpur, reports him as a bad character, dangerous, and of great influence; present at Malodh and Malehr Kotla affairs; afterwards arrested at his own village. (*B 10.*)

The evidence taken by the above officer goes to prove that he was most active and zealous, and continually in communication with Ram Singh. (*B II.*)

Most of the witnesses who give evidence before Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, couple Man Singh up with the 10 Subhas; but they record, nothing special regarding him. (*Appendix C.*)

In his evidence before me, Bhagwana, Chaukidar of Bhaini, states that Subha Man Singh left on the morning of the day on which Hira Singh had started with a band of some 200 men, stating that they meant to join the enterprise if successful. (*Appendix C 3.*)

He subsequently, when contradicted by Sukhu his Lambardar, said that this was another Man Singh, but was evidently not very clear about it. It is not impossible it was this Man Singh, as he admits having left Bhaini at that very hour, but with a party of five.

Sukhu, the said Lambardar, says that at the durbar of the previous evening Man Singh gave out that Man Singh would, if the attack on Malehr Kotla was successful, arrange for a rising in Firozpur; but the deponent either was, or represented himself to be, under the impression that Man Singh of the Firozpur District was not at Bhaini at the time.

No. 5.—Before the Assistant Commissioner, Firozpur, *Man Singh*, Lambardar of Taidohi, Man Singh's village, deposes that the latter was at Bhaini on the occasion of the late outbreak, but had returned to his village before it occurred, which, according to Man Singh's own statement, is impossible; also he never used seditious language. (*Appendix E.*)

No. 6.—*Matab Singh's* statement is similar and evidently false.

Jowahir Singh, Lambardar of Samad Bhai deposes that Man Singh is a man of influence, very active; tried to convert him, telling him that in 1928 the English rule was to end, and the Khalsa be re-established. He took part in the disturbance of 1869, heard from many Kukas that he (Man Singh) took part in the attack on Malodh. He returned to his village about four days after the attack on Malodh, does not think he was at Malehr Kotla. (*Appendix F2*)

No. 1, *Budh Singh, Deputy Inspector*.—Man Singh is a headman, though not a Subha; has himself heard him announce the re-establishment of Sikh rule; heard that he took part in the affairs at Malodh and Malehr Kotla and returned about 18 days later. (*Appendix F 3.*)

No. 2, Gulab Singh says Man Singh is not a Subha, but is in all respects like one,—active, and prophesying re-establishment of Sikh rule.

No. 5, Nidhana says Man Singh is headman, though not a Subha; never hear him talk sedition. He has sold nearly all his land, commencing some six years ago.

No. 6, Sadha Singh.—To much the same effect.

The Deputy Commissioner writes, after enquiry which I requested him to make, that this is the same Man Singh who took part in the outbreak at Tirajpur, and that he mortgaged his land to feed the rioters. (*Appendix F 4.*)

Statement of Man Singh, son of Makhan Singh of Saidoki in Firozpur, 40 years of age, Jat.

I was made a Kuka by Ram Singh in Sambat 1922. I am a cultivator. I have no jewels. My land I have not sold, but I have mortgaged it from time to time since Sambat 1919 to various persons.

1918, Ratan Singh	6½	Ghumaos;	
1924, Attar Singh	6	Ghumaos;	
1925, Chur Singh	6	Ghumaos;	
1926, Kishan Singh	1½	Ghumaos;	
1927, Dilela Singh	1½	Ghumaos;	
1928, Khazan Singh	2	Ghumaos;	and
to Ramdial,	1½	Ghumaos;	

One Ghumao is in my own hands.

I am not a Subha, "nam denawalla"; the other prisoners are Subhas. I am not sure about Mangal Singh being a Subha, but he is a great Sikh. The "nam" is "Wah Guru".

[Note.—He makes a great fuss about saying this, and repeats it afterwards "within his teeth," as I was previously told was Ram Singh's order.]

1. Kukas do not utter 'Gur Mantra' loudly but to repeat it in their mouth. It is their Guru's order—editor.

I was at Bhaini at the Lohri Mela. I left about 7 or 8 in the morning after the mela. There were five men with me, - Jet Singh, Batta Singh and Kehr Singh, of my village, Dhunn Singh and Diwan Singh, of a Nabha village close by. I was not present at the Tirajpur outbreak. Maluk Singh will prove all about it. My village is 40 coss off.

I have a wife and six children.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—This man seems a harmless, quite fellows, - a very ordinary Jat Sikh.

J.W. MACNABB,

The 23rd April 1872.

Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

I consider it proved that is the Man Singh who took part in the outbreak at Tirajpur. It is also highly probable that he has mortgaged his lands to feed Kukas. Although not a Subha he holds very nearly the same position. He has undoubtedly been a zealous Sub-Subha of Ram Singh, and an active propagandist. There is evidently a considerable inclination to screen him amongst many of the witnesses, and, taking his conduct at Tirajpur into consideration. I am inclined to believe those who declare they have heard him preach sedition.

He himself admits that he only left Bhaini the morning of the day the party who attacked Malodh started. I am not inclined to believe that he joined that party, but it is not improbable that, he was the Man Singh who was with the other party who were prepared to join them in case of success.

He does not seem to me to be the style of man to do much as a leader acting independently. I would therefore recommend his being allowed to return in three years, if things have quieted down. He should not, under any circumstances, return along with Maluk Singh, as he belongs to the same part of the country.

If allowed to return, it should be under the same restrictions as recommended for the others.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

IX.— Summary of Evidence regarding Hukma Singh.

HUKMA SINGH was a Nirmalla Sadh; has only visited his own village occasionally for the last 20 years; has no family; was made a Kuka 14, and a Subha five years ago.

Hukma Singh is not mentioned in the lists for 1866, but appears in all three lists for 1867. Deputy Inspector General: "Was made Subha in 1861; degraded for immorality; afterwards reinstated; of no great mark." (*Appendix A of 1868*) (*B 1.*)

Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh states that he comes from the same village, "Pittohi," as the three men hanged for the Raikot murders; that he is a zealous Subha, always with Ram Singh. (*B. 2.*)

District Superintendent, Police, Ferozpur—"Subha, always with Ram Singh." (*B 10.*)

In the evidence taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Hukma is mentioned along with the other Subhas generally as preaching sedition. (*C 1.*)

He lived permanently with Ram Singh at Bhaini, and was present during the Maghi Mela, and was arrested there after the outbreak.

Statement of Hukma Singh, of Pittohi, age 35, caste Jat.

I was made Kuka by Ram Singh at Bhaini in Sambat 1914, and was made Subha in Sambat 1923. Previous to being made Kuka I was a Nirmalla Sadh, and have only visited my village occasionally for the last 20 years; have no family.

I live at Bhaini, and copy holy books (pethis), and if anyone wants the "nam" (name) I give it them.

I was present at the Heli Mela at Kothi There was a disturbance. Hira Singh, of Sakroudi, hit Jowahir Singh with a stick. I don't know why. Was taking care of Ram Singh's boxes. Was also at the Damdamah Fair.

I was also at Bhaini at the Lohri Fair.

Hira Singh and Lehna Singh were abusing everybody, and abused the Subas themselves, saying that they did not get bread to eat or horses to ride.

I had gone out to bathe. On my return I heard that Ram Singh had fed the mastanas, and afterwards sent Lakha Singh to start them off from the well to their homes.

Ram Singh had previously given a list of the mastanas' names to the thanadar, and told him they intended mischief.

I have done no harm, Am a Padre.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Note.—This man seems of no mark; not a pleasant fellow; but very like the ordinary run of Padres at shrines - a poor mean fellow.

J.W. MACNABB,

The 23rd April 1872.

Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

Hukma Singh does not seem a man of much mark or importance, but, apart from the unadvisability of allowing any of the prisoners to return to the Punjab at present, the fact that he has been for years in close personal attendance on Ram Singh, and has been employed copying pothis (holy books), and that the books found on Kukas are generally seditious in their tendency, make his immediate return most inexpedient. I think he might be sent back in a year's time if all is quiet, and made over to the Raja of Nabha, who would willingly see that he lived quietly under Police surveillance at his village of Pittohi-neither holding meetings nor attending fairs.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

**No. X.—Summary of Evidence regarding
Pahara Singh.**

PAHARA SINGH was in the service of Mith Singh, Sirdar of Malodh, but left it during the mutiny to become a Nirmalla Sadh or fakir.

He was made Kuka 11, and a Subha five years ago.

His name does not appear in the list for 1866, but is shown as a Subha in those for 1867. (*Appendix A of 1868.*)

Deputy Inspector General, Ambala, reports that he is a fakir, and has considerable influence. (*B 1.*)

Deputy Inspector General, Lahore, reports that Pahara Singh was sent to report to Ram Singh the contemplated butcher-murders at Amritsar and get his orders. Colonel Baillie states that Pahara Singh admitted to him that he had been at the Lopoki meeting before the murders. (*B 5. & B 6.*)

District Superintendent, Police, Lahore, mentions him as a Subha. (*B 7.*)

So does District Superintendent of Police, Hoshiarpur. (*B 8.*) District Superintendent of Police, Ferozpur, calls him a noted Subha, employed to collect information for Ram Singh. (*B 10.*)

Basawa Singh, a witness in the Amritsar murder case, deposed to having gone down with Pahara Singh to Ram Singh tell him that the Lopoki men, with whom, from Basawa Singh's statement in the preliminary enquiry, it appears he (Pahara Singh) had been staying, were bent on carrying out the murder. (*Appendix I*)

In the depositions taken by Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Pahara Singh is spoken of, along with the other Subhas generally as preaching sedition, and urging the Sakroude men in their attack on Kotla. (*Appendix C 1.*)

More particularly *Bhola Singh* says: "Doubtless Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh and Pahara Singh were most urgent in their exhortation" (to carry out the attack).

Ghamanda Singh considers Pahara Singh, with four others, the most dangerous of the Subhas.

Bhola specially notes Pahara Singh as one of those who taught sedition at the late mela.

Vysakha Singh, servant of Brahma Singh, mentions Pahara Singh as equal in authority to Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh and Man Singh. Sirdar Mit Singh, of Malodh, in conversation with me, said he had the very worst opinion of Pahara Singh, who had formerly been in his employ as he was a dangerous intriguing fellow.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Pahara Singh, son of Hima, caste Jat,
age 42, of Malodh.

I was in Sirdar Mit Singh's service, but gave it up in the mutiny year, and became a Nirmala Sadh.

Ram Singh made me a Kuka in Sambat 1917, and five years ago I was made a Subha.

I have then and since lived in Sear, as there are many of my relations, also many "Naambhai", Kukas.

Always go about with Ram Singh to all melas. Was with him at Amritsar, at Anandpur, at Kotha, but not at Damdama Sahib.

Denies having ever gone with anyone to ask Ram Singh about the Amritsar butcher-murders.* (**Knows rather too little about this.*)

I went to Bhaini some 20 days before the Lohri Mela.

I do not know anything about the mastanas, except that they threatened to kill the Subhas Gopal Singh, Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh, and myself, and Ram Singh begged them to be quiet, and sent a list of them to the thanadar.

This is all I know. I was out at a well worshipping God all day.

The day after the next day Ram Singh sent Lakha Singh to let the Deputy Commissioner know, as he feared they would do some mischief.

Read and acknowledged correct.

Note.—A faratical, dangerous looking man, but not of very much mark; there is, however, a good deal of determination in his face.

The 24th April 1872.

J.W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

OPINION.

PAHARA SINGH is undoubtedly a Subha of much influence, and a decidedly dangerous character. He was evidently privy to the project to murder the Amritsar butchers, though he seems to have been anxious not to peril his own neck in the matter.

He may have less influence, but I am inclined to think him more dangerous than Brahma Singh, and would recommend his remaining in banishment for ten years, after which his case might be re-considered with reference to the state of the country; but, if allowed to return, he should remain under Police surveillance in his village, and be prohibited from holding meetings or attending fairs.

J.W. MACNABB,
Deputy Commissioner.

No. XI—Summary of Evidence regarding Sirdar Mangal Singh.

SIRDAR MANGAL SINGH, a man of wealth and position, is a brother-in law's son of the late Maharajah of Patiala, and a Patiala subject living in Bishanpura, but he is also Jagirdar of the British village of Raipur in Ludiana.

He was some years ago sent down on a mission to Dholpur, and on his return got into disgrace about some jewels with which he had been entrusted.

It is said he made the jewels over to Ram Singh for safe custody, and that he had a disagreement with Ram Singh about them, when, under pressure from the Maharajah, he found himself compelled to disgorge.

In 1866 Gainda Singh, spy, reported that Sirdar Mangal Singh was one who had promised assistance to Kukas in the event of a rising. (*Appendix A of 1867.*)

In October 1867 a spy of Captain Menzies reports that he found Mangal Singh with five Sowars at Bhaini paying his respects to Ram Singh previous to going to Dholpur, and that he promised to send the Guru Rupees 200 a month. (*Appendix A of 1868.*)

He also appears in the records for that year as accompanying Ram Singh as a Subha at the Amritsar and Anandpur Melas; also in 1869 in Gurdaspur. His name does not appear in the reports lately called for from Police Officers, as he was not considered a British subject. (*Appendix A of 1871*)

Mangal Singh denies that he is a Subha, but his fellow-prisoners, Sahib Singh excepted, call him one. Lakha Singh says he had leave to make converts in Dholpur.

In the depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Mangal Singh is called invariably a Subha, and the statements regarding generally seditious teaching apply to him.

More particularly Bhola Singh knows that Mangal Singh was promised Patiala as soon as Ram Singh commenced to reign. Also that the Kukas say that when Mangal Singh returns all the other Subhas will be released, and the Raj commence.

2. Ghamanda Singh considers Mangal Singh with four others the most dangerous of the Subhas.

3. Bela has a similar opinion, coupling his name with that of Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh and Kahn Singh.

4. So does Dewa Singh, coupling him with Sahib Singh and Lakha Singh.

5. Partap Singh has heard Mangal Singh talk sedition, and so does Dowlat Ram, No.7.

6. Nihal Singh believes Mangal Singh to be the worst after Sahib Singh and Lakha Singh.

1. Sukhu, Lambardar of Bhaini, knows that Mangal Singh was a Kuka seven months ago. (C 2.)

2. Dula saw Mangal Singh make Ram Singh a present in Darbar at the Dussera in October, after the butcher murders.

3. Hakim has seen him going to visit Ram Singh two or three times since the Dussera.

4. Wazir to the same effect.

5. Fojee has seen him pay Ram Singh several visits during the last seven months.

DEFENCE.

Statement of Mangal Singh, Sirdar of Bishanpur, in Patiala, and Raipur, Ludiana.

HAVING had the charges against him explained to him, states:

Some five years ago or perhaps more my son was ill, and I was advised to take him to Ram Singh. He cured him and I became a believer in Ram Singh, but never formally Kuka. I was in disgrace in Patiala on account of money dealings with my niece, the Rani of Dholpur; it had nothing to do with my Kuka leanings. Without doubt I used to give largely Rupees 200, Rupees 300, Rupees 400 and so on to Ram Singh, because he was a holy man; and I was the more inclined to do so as he and his Subhas were treated with respect by Government Officers.

I never became a Subha, nor did I make any Kukas.

When I saw that the Kukas were giving trouble, and that Government was displeased with them, I gave up Kukaism. This was about a year and a half ago.

If Government will release me, I will go and publicly recant at the Akal Bunga at Amritsar.¹

I have taken to eating flesh and drinking wine since I renounced Kukaism.

I cannot think why I was arrested. I have no enemies in Patiala.

My daughter is engaged to marry Baddan Singh's (of Malodh) son.

The other prisoners are all Subhas, but Man Singh, who is not a Subha. Jotha Singh is a great Subha, much looked up to. He was made Kuka by Balak Ram (Singh) of Hazro. Lakha Singh is a troublesome fellow; the other Subhas are not so. If Government want to prevent further trouble they have only to prevent the Kukas meeting in crowds. I hear that Sahib Singh and Kehn Singh took the buffaloes to Nipal; it was said it was a mercantile transaction, and that buffaloes were expensive in Nipal. [Admits this is folly.] I know nothing for certain about the Kukas for the last 18 months.

Read over to prisoner and acknowledged to be correct.

J.W.MACNABB,

The 20th April 1872.

Deputy Commissioner.

This is a sharp man, will rather a long tongue, and not one I would trust far, but he seems to understand the utter folly of attempts such as that on Kotla, and altogether to set our superiority at its full value.

J.W.M.

1. Governments' opinion regarding Sirdar Mangal Singh recorded in Governor General's file was :

"Mungal Singh is a worthless scoundrel, who will I fear be ready to become Kuka, Sikh, Mahmumdee Khan or anything else to serve his own ends and who will always be a mischievous man to be watched in all times of excitement."—Page 232, Kuka Movement—Freedom Struggle in Punjab" by Jaswinder Singh.

OPINION.

THERE can be no doubt that in some respects Sirdar Mangal Singh is Ram Singh's most important follower. His joining the Kukas had more effect in furthering the cause than any event which has lately occurred.

It was generally believed, particularly by those at a distance, that the Maharajah of Patiala was of the same way of thinking.

The Sirdar, moreover, has lands, money, horses and arms at his disposal.

It is difficult to believe that a Sirdar who has attended Courts, travelled down to Dholpur and back, and is a shrewd fellow with apparently a clear knowledge of our resources at least in the Punjab, should have any sympathy with an insane attempt like that of Kotla, and at Malodh, with which latter house also he is about to be connected by marriage, but his absence from Bhaini on the occasion of the late outbreak was compulsory, he being under orders to remain at Patiala, and therefore cannot count for or against.

On the other hand, Mangal Singh looks like a man who could go in for a great venture, and no one, not even Ram Singh himself, was in a position to profit more by a restoration of the Sikh Raj by Kuka means.

Whatever were the designs, intentions and avowed wishes of Ram Singh and his advisers, Mangal Singh could not have been ignorant of them, and yet we find him spending a very large portion of his income on Ram Singh.

That he was equally dangerous and seditious in his designs with the other Subhas I have no hesitation in believing, and should on these grounds recommend his perpetual banishment.

He has, however, declared that he has renounced Kukaism. His statement (which is clearly false) that he renounced it at the time and in consequence of the Raikot murders is immaterial. The point is that he is now prepared to renounce Kukaism publicly at Amritsar.

It is to be observed that his proposal was perfectly spontaneous, and that not one of the other prisoners ever hinted at such a course,

or expressed the slightest doubts as to the excellence of their sect.

For any of the other ten to renounce Kukaism would be to descend to the insignificant position from which they have risen; they have also been accustomed in their early life to hardship, so that their present privations come easy to them.

To Mangal Singh his present discomforts are very grievous, as he loses wealth, family comforts and position. In short he loses everything, the others nothing.

This very fact makes it probable that his repentance is sincere, and his position and lands give us at any time a hold on him which we have not on the others.

I think the effect of a public recantation, which the Maharajah of Patiala could easily see was carried out, would have the best effect in breaking up the Kuka sect.

Sirdar Mangal Singh, however, is the Maharajah's prisoner, not ours, and I believe I shall not be expected to pass any opinion on the case from this point of view, the suggestion I have made above is of course entirely irrespective of any such consideration.

I would only protest against half measures with this particular man, he should either be allowed to return at once, or be kept in perpetual banishment.

J.W. MACNABB,

Deputy Commissioner.

APPENDIX—A.

No. 1.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE KOOKA SECT, WITH
SOME ACCOUNT MOF RAM SINGH
OF BHAINEE.

MEMORANDUM.

Dated—Central Police Office, Lahore, the 19th January 1867.

The accompanying narrative of the Kooka sect (i.e. shouters) founded by Baluk Singh of Huzroo, in the Rawul Pindee District, has been compiled from the reports furnished to the Inspector General during the last four years, and is confidentially circulated for the information of police officers.

It is requested that this pamphlet may be preserved amongst other confidential records, and not sent into District Superintendents' offices.

The Inspector General desires District Superintendents to continue to watch closely, but unobtrusively, this movement, and duly report to him any information worthy of note.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE KOOKA SECT.

The Kooka sect of Juggasees (or Hubbeasees) was originated by a Sikh named Baluk Singh, of the Arora caste, in the year 1847, in the District of Rawal Pindee. Baluk Singh lived at Huzroo, and, after making a considerable number of converts, died in January 1863.¹ His favourite disciples were three in number, Kahn Singh, now the head of the sect in Huzroo; Lal Singh, now a resident of Umritsar; and Ram Singh, resident of Bhainee in Loodiana District. This last disciple is now acknowledged Guru, and head of the sect, having been unanimously elected on the death of Baluk Singh.

1. 6 December 1862 A.D. —editor.

Ram Singh comes of a poor family, being the son of a carpenter named Jussa Singh, who is still living, and who has throughout his life resided at Bhainee, following his trade. Ram Singh is about 50 years of age, and is described as a spare man, 5 feet 10 inches in height, with a fair complexion pitted with small-pox, hazel eyes, long nose and face, grizzled beard and moustache. Ram Singh reads and writes Gurmookhee, and is acquainted with the trades of carpenter and mason. In his early youth he assisted Jussa Singh in his calling; but in the year 1844 he took service under the Government of Maharajah Runjeet Singh,¹ as a sowar in Nao Nihal Singh's regiment. On the taking of Lahore in 1846, Ram Singh quitted the Maharajah's army² and resumed at Bhainee, his occupation of carpenter. For the last ten years he has kept a kind of Bunnea's shop, in which miscellaneous stores and iron are sold. Baluk Singh had initiated him into the tenets of the new sect and urged him to preach. He commenced proselytizing in the Loodiana District about the year 1858³, and assumed the title of 'Bhaie' or head of the brotherhood in 1860 (?).

All castes of Hindus and even Mahomedans may become Kookas. Major Perkins, District Superintendent of Police at Loodiana, writes that converts are chiefly made from Jats, Tikhans, Chumars, and Muzbees; very few are obtained from and amongst Khutrees, Brahmins, Bunneas; and he only knows of two Mahomedans who have embraced this faith. Mr. Kinchant, in June 1863, when in the Goordaspore District, found that the following classes furnished most Kooka disciples, viz., Tikhani Lohar, Libanee, Samee, Bhaitee, Khulal, Jewara, and the lower orders of the Jats. Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Umritsar, in a report dated 22nd September 1866, speaks of the Tikhans, Aroras, and Jhuthrars as castes amongst which the doctrines are gaining ground. Captain Parsons, then District Superintendent of Umballa, also

1. 1837. —editor.

2. Gura Ram Singh quitted the army while crossing the Satluj at Harike few days before the battle of Moodkee—editor.

3. Baisakhee day i.e. 12 April 1857 A.D. —editor.

notices that converts are only obtained from the poorer classes.

As all the accounts received do not exactly agree regarding the tenets of Ram Singh's followers, it will be convenient to collect here all the information at present on record on this subject.

It appears that there is an esoteric division of the sect, to whom alone the duty of propagandism is entrusted; and from a report of Captain Tulloch, District Superintendent, Sealkote (dated the 10th November 1866), it seems that each newly enrolled disciple must proceed to Bhainee, where he receives the necklace of knotted wool, which marks his creed.

In June 1863 Mr. Kinchant thus describes the Kooka articles of belief. Govind Singh's Grunth is the only true one, written by inspiration, and is the only sacred writing extant. Govind Singh is the only Guru. Any person irrespective of caste or religion can be admitted a convert. Sodees, Bedees, Mahunts, Brahmins, and such like are imposters, as none are Gurus except Govind Singh. Daveedwaras, Shihdwaras, and Mundurs are a means of extortion, to be held in contempt and never visited. Idols and idol worship are insulting to God, and will not be forgiven. Converts are allowed to read Govind Singh's Grunth, and no other book. At meetings, both sexes cover their heads, and singing portions of the Grunth work themselves up to a state frenzy.

In the correspondence printed in 1863, the following is given as a summary of the Kooka's belief:

"The leading features of the doctrine Ram Singh preaches are: he abolishes all distinctions of cast among Sikhs; advocates indiscriminate intermarriage of all classes; enjoins the marriage of widows, all of which he performs himself; he never takes alms himself, and prohibits his followers from doing so; enjoins abstinence from liquor and durgs but advocates much too free intercourse between the sexes,¹ men and women rave together at his meetings, and thousands of women and young girls have joined his sect; he exhorts his disciples to be cleanly and truth-telling. One of his maxims

1. Open social gatherings of men and women. —editor.

says, "it is well that every man carry his staff, and they all do; the Grunth is their only accepted inspired volume. The brotherhood may be known by the tie of their puggress, 'Sheeda pug', by a watchword, and by a necklace of knots made in a white woollen cord to represent beads, and which are worn by all the community."

Further on in the printed memorandum it is recorded that a Brahmin named Munnee Ram intended to abjure the sect on account of its immorality; but, as will be presently seen, other accounts affirm strict morality to be a distinguishing feature of the Kooka principles. One man, who was initiated by Ram Singh himself, received a rosary, and was taught as Goormuntur or mystic word simply the ejaculation "Wah Guru," which he was to repeat constantly with his lips, but teeth closed. Ram Singh also gave him some unexceptionable advice as to his mode of life. Captain Wall, District Superintendent, Goojranwalla, states, in 1866, that the secret sign of Kooka brotherhood is the ability to reply 'Sut Akal Poorakh,' to the ejaculation "Sut Sri Akal;" and the old Sikhs of Umritsur are reported by Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of that District, to compare this sect with the Free Masons of Europe. The initiation verse is said, by Mr. Kinchant, to be

First consent to death,
Give up the desire to live,
Become the dust of the earth,
Then come to me.

Major Perkins writes, in 1866, that, on initiation, all vices are supposed to be foresworn such as lying, stealing, drinking, adultery, & c., and are strictly forbidden. Kookas so offending are punished by a "Punchayut." At first Ram Singh alone exercised the power of proselytizing; but for the last two years the duty has been chiefly carried on by Soobas or lieutenants. Mention of these will be made further on. A sentence is whispered into the ear of the would-be-disciple, which he is told to keep constantly repeating and he is enjoined to provide himself with a rosary. The converts are ordered to bathe the entire body and wash the hair of their heads every

1. Stick. —editor.

morning at three o'clock; after bathing they are to pray, read aloud and repeat "Achlocks," or selected verses of the Grunth.

The Kookas are accustomed to meet together to read the Grunth and "Chunde Path", the assembly generally lasts some two or three days, and the following ceremonies are observed: First, two or three mounds of wood are collected and set fire to, then ghee, hulwa, fruits, & c., are thrown on it, to make the wood burn more slowly; the assembled Kookas sit around whilst one reads the Grunth and others repeat Achlocks. After this has been going on for a time, some of the fraternity become so excited that they endeavour to throw themselves into the fire. However, by a wise precaution, certain men are invariably told off beforehand to prevent their more excitable brethren doing any harm to themselves!

The Following are a few of the favorite Achlocks :

<i>Murhee musseeten dhahkekur deo maidana</i>	(Throw down tombs and Musjids, and make all level).
<i>Pahle maro Pir Bunnoe, phir maro Sooltana</i>	(First annihilate (or throw down) Peer Bunnoe, after do the same for Sooltana.)
<i>Oomut subhee Mahomedes khap jai maidana</i>	(All the followers of the Prophet will disappear at once.)
<i>Soenut Koi na kar sukke kumbur Turkana</i>	(Trembling Turks will not in future be able to circumcise.)
<i>Bhainee, sulgooroo jagea aur jhut jahana.</i>	(The true Guru has arisen in Bhainee; the rest of the world is full of lies.)

One of the defendants in a recent case of destroying tombs in the Ferozepore District, when denying his guilt, mentioned the following as the substance of his belief, and remarked that with

I. The Chundee Path is one of the many Hindoo religious books, and is written in praise of Chundee Davee. The Chundee Path, however, promises physical strength as the reward of constant perusal of its pages, and this may commend it to the Kookas.

such a creed how could he enter on unlawful acts: "Our religion enjoins abstience from meat and stimulants; but we take the latter medicinally; we are not to quarrel, steal, lie, fornicate, or behave treacherously. We do not respect shrines or tombs of ordinary men, only of celebrated persons. We are commanded to worship God and the Government whose revenue we pay."

The following circular, issued by Ram Singh in June 1863, which was given to Captain Menzies by a Mahunt, affords some further knowledge of the sect :

"Ram Singh, in conjunction with his head followers, to all the Khalsa. Sree Wah Guru Jee ka Khalsa, Sree Wah Guru je kee Futteh. To all Sikhs, to all villagers, to all women and children who visit the Dewan Durhar. Pay attention to all I have taught you, or your faces will be blackened in both worlds. Whoever commits theft, adultery, & c., let him not come to the Durbar; and if he tries to force his way, pray to the Guru to stop him. Sing the Granth together and the praise of the Deity; be afraid of none; abuse no one. Your Guru watches over his followers and will aid them. I send you the names of those who have offended me, that they may be refused admittance into your houses. Whoever makes money by the marriage of his daughter is a rascal. Whoever commits infanticide or exchanges his daughter is equally so. Your children should be educated in the precepts of the Granth. Come without fail to the Dewallee."

From the reports received it appeared that Ram Singh first ordered and then countermanded a general meeting of his followers at the Umritsur Dewallee in 1866 :

The following is a translation, by Mr. Christie, Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Umritsur, of a circular letter addressed by Ram Singh to his followers a little before the last Dewallee :

"Under favor of the one true God. Written by Ram Singh and the Khalsa of Bhainee to all the Khalsa. The Khalsa is of the pure Great God. Victory be to the pure Great God. Be this accepted: an epistle of precepts for all the brethern is written

from Bhainee. Rise in the last watch of the night and purify your mouth; then bathe, read the scriptures; if they are not known then acquire them by rote, every one, old women and maidens. 'Jup Jap' complete¹, learn by rote. Raihras, Artisola, this much be particular to learn. All practise virtue and continence. Worship the true God during the whole eight watches. Look upon the daughters and sisters of others as your own. Of other's rights, the Guru (Nanuk) has already written. 'Other's rights, Nanuk says, 'are pig to one, and cow to the other.' Should any one enquire the secret of worship and not practise it, then his face will be blackened in both worlds. Let no one speak ill or harshly; be meek, hear ill or harsh sayings from all; if any strike you even then be meek; your protector is God. Always hide your good deeds. Assemble often. Sing the scriptures daily. Should you wish to give a feast, purify the place, procure new vessels, enter the cooking-place with washed feet, at the same time perform five acts of worship, purify the place for worship; in the ceremony use putas or plum wood; do not blow the fire whilst worshipping it; use a fan. Five persons at the worship read the scriptures, 'Choupac, Jup, Jap Chundechehutr. Akaloostut;² a sixth person keep putting on the offering, a seventh to continue sprinkling the fire gently with water. If any one commits adultery or theft, then admit him nowhere in the meetings. Should he be powerful, then all pray that he may be disabled from coming. My knowledge is small, you can understand everything for yourselves. Let everyone put up their hands to God [praying]—Oh ! Great Ruler may our faith continue. Wear jengeas; put them one leg before removing them from the other; do not cover the evil deeds of others. Let no one receive money in lieu of a daughter or a sister, or barter them. Continually repeat God, God (Guru Guru). Do not eat flesh or drink spirits. Continue always in the fear of God.

1. Also Shabad Hazare (30th).—editor.

2. Later on Satguru Hari Singh ji included two more scriptures—Chandi-di-War and Uggardanti and ordered to read.—editor.

Major Perkins states that a Kooka may not eat food prepared by outside, and in support of this assertion it may be added that some Kookas in the Ferozepore Lock-up declined to receive jail-cooked food.

Enquiries were made in 1863 to test the truth of the Native rumour that the Kookas were accustomed to meet together and drill. The following is an extract from the papers collected at the time: "The question of their drilling at night, though frequently reported, seems still an open one. Dyal Singh, Lumberdar, and Wazeera, late chowkeedar of Mootaddah, in Jullundhur (a village entirely converted by Ram Singh), state that drill often takes place a little way from the village; and that Sergeant Buhal Singh, of the Hooshiarpore Police, with one or two discharged sepoys, instructs them. Buhal Singh frankly admits that Ram Singh is and has been his Guru for many years: that when on leave he goes to visit him, joins in their ceremonies, one of which is for the whole assembly to stand up in line and repeat some verses in a loud tone before separating for the night, and which might possibly have been taken for drill by the uninitiated".

No fresh reports of Kookas assembling for drill have since been received.

The foregoing accounts of the sect have shown it to be a movement of religious reform amongst the Sikhs. Concurrent testimony proves that the Kookas make themselves unpopular alike to Mahomedans and Hindoos. The following notes, however, take a more serious view of Ram Singh's ulterior objects. They are based chiefly on information collected by a man named Gaindah Singh, who appears deeply impressed with the political import of the Kooka faith :

Munnee Ram, Brahmin, of Jullundhur, a convert to Ram Singh, but about to give him up again, his doctrines leading to immorality, states that he has been at several of his meetings, but never saw any drilling; and that the circumstance of their invariable standing up in line to go through some ceremonies before separating¹ must

1. Night prayer before separating. —editor.

have led to the idea of their drilling. He asserts, however, that Ram Singh is certainly gifted with the powers of magic, which sends people into fits: he states he has seen above a thousand people affected in this way. In common with all other Sikhs, doubtless, Ram Singh wishes their rule back again, but he does not preach this: considers him unquestionably a prophet: and believes his preaching to be entirely of a religious nature.

Again, Gairdhar Singh, a Sikh informer, was sent by the Cantonment Magistrate, Jullundhur, to Ram Singh's village. The Guru himself was absent, but Sahib Singh, his Lieutenant, was there. He expressed a desire to become a convert, and joined their party, which at night amounted to about 50 men. The "dhole" was sounded, and everyone got stick from Sahib Singh, who then proceeded to drill the party for about two hours, and all shouted "Akhal, Akhal." Gairdhar Singh then expressing a desire to see the Guru himself, his disciple told him where to find him, and gave him two papers for Ram Singh. These he never delivered, pretended to have lost them, and, on return to Jullundhur, made them over to the Cantonment Magistrate. The following are rough translations of the documents:

"No. 1.—Salutation! The Sahi of Guru Govind Singh. I Guru Govind Singh will be born in a carpenter's shop and will be called Ram Singh. My house will be between the Jumna and Sutlej Rivers. I will declare my religion. I will defeat the Feringhee, and put the crown on my own head, blow the —'shunkh'. The musicians shall praise me in 1921 (1864). I, the carpenter, will sit on the throne. When I have got one lakh and twenty-five thousand Sikhs with me I will cut off the heads of the Feringhees. I will never be conquered in battle, and will shout 'Akhal, Akhal'. The Christians will desert their wives and fly from the country when they hear the shout of 1¼ lakhs of Khalsas. A great battle will take place on the banks of the Jumna, and blood will flow like the waters of the Ravee and no Feringhee be left alive. Insurrections will take place in the country in 1922 (1865). The Khalsa will reign, and the Rajah and ryot will live in peace and comfort, and no one shall molest another."

"Day by day Ram Singh's rule will be enlarged. God has

written this. It is no lie my brothern. In 1865 the whole country will be ruled by Ram Singh. My followers will worship Wahaguan. God says this will happen."

"No.II.—Salutation. Read the enclosed (i.e, the above) to all Sikhs. It is the request of the Sikhs here. Send news of your whereabouts. We wish to see you here. You have been absent a long time, come in this direction quickly. We cannot remain apart from you so long."

It was then resolved to send the following men in disguise to test the truth of the informer's story :

- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|--|
| 1. | * | * | * | } Men of good position and high respectability, but whose names are, for obvious reasons, omitted. |
| 2. | * | * | * | |
| 3. | * | * | * | |
| 4. | * | * | * | } The informer. |

On reaching Loodiana it was found that the only men who could assume anything like a practicable disguise were No.1 and the informer. These two accordingly visited Ram Singh, and though he was very suspicious, being now under strict police surveillance, yet he did not distrust them, as he had seen the informer before, and No.1 was now introduced as his brother. They remained two days with him, and he treated them very kindly. On the first night he initiated them, and gave them a rosary or necklace made of wool. He had only one by him, but said a large supply was coming. The Goormuntur or mystic word he taught them was simply "Wah Guru," which they were to repeat constantly with their lips, but teeth closed. He gave them some unexceptionable advice as to their mode of life. They were perfectly orderly and quiet. One night, however, he said that his disciples had been molested in Umritsur, Ferozepore, and other places, but that *one* of his followers (being under Divine protection) was equal to 100 other men, European soldiers included; that on one occasion three Europeans actually came to his house or tent at Umritsur, and that if they had arrested him his followers

would have forthwith killed them. He had plenty of disciples in the Umritsur Police, who, had he chosen, would in half an hour have rid the place of every European in it, but the time had not yet come. No drill took place in their presence, but they heard from the disciples that it did take place regularly, under the Guru's Lieutenant, Sahib Singh, who was then absent at Loodiana.

On another occasion he told them that the English reign would soon cease; that "its roots had not struck very deep."

His disciples actually believed him to be Guru Govind Singh, risen from the dead again, and that he could foresee and foretell everything, and that he actually had foretold the fall of Sikh Raj¹. One day he told them that a Mahunt from Narowal (in the Umritsur District) had informed him for certain that cartridges, prepared in the same way as in 1857, were again about to be distributed, and caps also filled with the same obnoxious stuff. Ram Singh has two lieutenants at his home with him, Sahib Singh and Jowahir Singh. The former is a sharp, shrewd fellow, and the drill instructor of the neighbourhood; the latter is merely a raving fanatic. Ram Singh is himself armed with a hatchet, all the others with sticks. No. 1 states that from what passed before him between his companion (the informer) and Ram Singh, he has no doubt that Sahib Singh did actually give Gairdiah Singh the letters for Ram Singh, translations of which have been given above; and, indeed, when they met Sahib Singh on their way home, he acknowledged as much in conversation with his companion. Nothing could be ascertained as to arms, but Ram Singh told them that when they were wanted, they would be forthcoming².

They ascertained that the Guru intended visiting Umritsur in great state at the Dewallee, and that his disciples, who were to assemble in great force there, evidently placed the most implicit confidence and obedience in their leader, and were quite ready to

1. Guru Ram Singh foretold this during his Khalsa army service. — Fauja Singh Bajwa, Kuka Movement—Page 7. — editor.

2. Gairdiah Singh's reports about the drilling of the Kookas have not been corroborated.

lay down their lives for him.

What has been related as reported by Gaiindah Singh in the foregoing paragraphs was collected in 1863; that he still adheres to the view he then took will be perceived on perusal of the subjoined information received in September 1866.

"On arrival at Bhainee I met, amongst others, one Bhuggut Singh of Loodiana who was a news-carrier of Ram Singh. Ram Singh has nightly interviews with Guru Govind Singh. It is the order for each of the Kookas to have a good strong axe. They are ready for a disturbance, and have petitioned Ram Singh for orders, who replied he would give them before the Dewallee. In event of Ram Singh's death, Sahib Singh (a Soota or Lieutenant) is to succeed him. Some Ramdasseeas of Loodiana, whose ancestors had beaten the kettle-drum (nakareh) before Govind Singh's followers, asked for the same office with the Kookas. Meytab Singh, son-in-law of Ram Singh, visits frequently the Soota for the Jullundhur Doab (Kan Singh). Mungal Singh, Jagirdar of Raipore (Loodiana), is one who has promised assistance in event of a rising. Ram Singh regards the arms of all Sikhs in the British service as his own, and considers it certain we shall have a revolt if Sahib Singh becomes head of the sect. The Kookas are very enthusiastic and are willing to obey Ram Singh implicitly".

Before proceeding to give the names of the leading members of the Kooka religion, it appears just to place juxtaposition with the above report the accounts received of their conduct at the last Dewallee in November 1866.

Captain Menzies says that the Kooka disciples are orderly, obedient to the powers that be, live frugally, and act up to the tenets of their faith. So far from there being any disturbance at Umritsur, Roor Singh, the leading Kooka present at the Dewallee waited on Captain Menzies and solicited instructions for the guidance of his

1. Both Captain Menzies and Lieutenant Ramsay mention this man. When the former wrote, he was at Kurtarpore in Jullundhur, and when the latter made his report, at Durlapore, in the Rahoon Thannah of the same District.

followers, who acting upon the advice received, behaved in a most orderly manner, though perhaps they had cause for complaint, as the offerings they made were received at the Durbar, but refused at the Baba Uttul Shrine.

It has been before mentioned that the Kooka faith is unpopular. In 1863 there was a Kooka gathering at Mahalpore in the Goordaspore district. Ram Singh did not attend, but was represented by two Goorbhaies, Socdh Singh and Kan Singh, the former of Bhainee, Loodiana, the latter of Mulote, in the Goordaspore District. Socndur Singh, Bhugwan Singh and Heera Singh of Mahalpore were to feast the Kookas, who perhaps numbered eighty persons; but the villagers drove them empty away, and would not even suffer them to draw water.

The reports from all sources agree that Kookas, are enjoined to wear a rosary, short drawers, straight or untwisted puggree, and to carry a stick. Several officers (Lieutenant Mc Neile, Sealkote-Captain Bond, Jhelum-Major Perkins, Loodiana) report that each Kooka is ordered to carry a small knife in his puggree. The ones noticed by Major Perkins were blunt and perfectly useless, whilst Captain Bond's informer describes them as "kundas" or spear points. Captain Manziess, of Umritsur, on the contrary, states they have not a pen-knife between them. Both Major Perkins and Captain Wall have heard of the order for each disciple to carry an axe, but they have not yet ascertained whether it has been thoroughly carried out.

The Kookas, or as they are sometimes called the "Sunt Khalsa" (Khalsa saints), have a private post of their own, which appears to be admirably organized.¹ Confidential orders are circulated, much in the same way as the fiery cross was carried through a Highland clan in Scottish bygone days. A Kooka, on the arrival at his village of another of the same sect with a despatch, *at once* leaves off whatever work he may be engaged upon: if in the midst of a repast not another morsel is eaten, he asks no question but taking the missive starts off at a run and conveys it to the next

1. 'Gooro Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs', Vol-I by Nahar Singh, pages 8 and 85. —editor.

relief or to its destination. Important communications are sent verbally, and are not committed to writing. In carrying messages they are said by Major Perkins to make great detours, to avoid the grand trunk road. There can be little doubt that though this machinery has been introduced to work a religious reform, yet in the hands of designing and unscrupulous men it can easily be made an engine of political danger. Reports have reached Major Perkins that the Kookas openly talk of being masters of the country, at some time when all in the land will profess the new faith. In every creed enthusiasts exist; and as Ram Singh's followers have conducted themselves in an orderly manner, and shown forbearance under provocation, the sayings of a few of the more fanatical amongst the sect cannot in justice be taken as a correct index of the state of feeling pervading the minds of the majority.

The Kookas have no respect for tombs, temples or shrines; they are also iconoclasts. They reverence the temple of the Durbar at Umritsur as being the depository of the Granth, and perhaps owing to the city being the capital and centre of the Sikh religion. The Poojaris, Brahmins, and other spiritual persons, who live by the votive offerings they receive from orthodox Hindoos, are naturally the bitterest enemies of the new sect, as the spread of its tenets would deprive them of their marriage fees and other gain and exactions.

It has been mentioned that the conduct of Ram Singh's followers has, on the whole, been orderly; the only offences which they have as yet been guilty of, as a sect, have been the destruction of tombs, idols, &c. The following is a list of the cases which have been reported up to the present time (January 1857):

Ferozepore—Some tombs lying between the boundaries of the villages of Chuck Bhaie and Choota Boorshoo were destroyed about the 1st September 1866 by Wuraim Singh, Fullea Singh, and Jymul Singh, Kookas. One of the tombs had been erected to the memory of one Sungoor Singh, a man held in reverence by the neighbouring villages. The three Kookas were found guilty by the Magistrate and sentenced to three month's imprisonment, with a fine of Rs. 20 each or in default of payment of fine, six months more.

Mr. Haslett, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Sirsa was informed, on 20th October 1866, by a Lumberdar named Sooba Singh, that Mallook Singh, a Kooka Guru, had been apprehended in Ferozepore for destroying tombs. He further mentioned that an attempt was made by the sect to destroy the tomb of Ruttoa Baba at Bhuttinda, in Puttiala, but it was frustrated. Sobah Singh considered a disturbance was imminent at either Talwundec, Mookutsur, or Umritsur. The destruction of tombs mentioned by Sobah Singh did not really take place, nor was Mallook Singh arrested but there was a report of this nature from the Mokutsur Sub-Divison. After personal local enquiry, the District Superintendent (as reported in his No. 620 of 19th December 1866 to Deputy Inspector General, Lahore) was of opinion that the damage done was of so slight a nature that it was impossible to pronounce whether it was the work of men or animals. There were no complainants; in fact the injury was so small that a prosecution was not desired. The tombs being situated at spots remote from human abode, no evidence was obtainable on the subject.

In *Loodiana* the cases of destruction of tombs were of some what similar type. The Kookas appear not to have selected any burial places of reputed sanctity, but to have just destroyed a few of the small graves which are to be found outside every village. Two cases were successfully prosecuted—one at Gcojrana, which occurred on the 7th July last. The defendants, Utter Singh, Churrit Singh, Sohail Singh, Lall Singh and Sewah Singh, were each sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and Rs. 5 fine. The second case happened at Roorkah on the 12th December 1866, in which Beer Singh, Churrit Singh, Ootum Singh and Jewah were convicted and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 15 each. It is extremely difficult to bring home these cases to the parties implicated, as the mischief is usually done in the night, and most of the villages are several miles distant from the imperial police stations.

At *Sealkote* some tombs were reported to have been destroyed at the village of Subhana. The evidence was insufficient to bring the offence home to a party of Kookas who were strongly suspected. The Deputy Commissioner warned and discharged them.

On the 5th of January a party of three Kookas were apprehended for damaging graves at Choowindah; the result of the prosecution has not yet been received.

In the Goojranwalla District, though several cases have been reported, reliable evidence appears only to have been obtained in one which occurred in village of Budoke in December. Four men residents of Bhooka (Bainka -ed.) Cheema, were supposed to be concerned; out of these two were recognized and sent up to trial.

From *Hooshiarpore*, it was reported that a party of Kookas, 13 in number, led by Soodh Singh, entered the district and destroyed some Hindoo images in a temple at Gunharee. At Noor Jumal a Mahomedan tomb was destroyed and some of the party were seen astride the image of a cow in front of a Hindoo temple. These profane riders called upon the cow prove itself a God by walking! The men were sent up for trial and convicted by the Assistant Commissioner as vagrants.

The following notes regarding the number of converts in different districts have been extracted from our records:

In June 1863 Ram Singh held meetings in the Ferozepore District when he prophesied the number of his followers would speedily reach 1½ lakhs of armed men.

Captain Menzies reported, on the 31st May 1863, that Inspector Narain Singh, in conversation with Lall Singh, the third chosen disciple of Ram Singh, had elicited the information that the Kookas then numbered 40,000 able bodied men.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tronson reported, on the 29th November 1866, that there were few, if any, Kookas in the districts comprised within his circle (Mooltan, Mozafferghur, Montgomery and Jhung). The District Superintendent of Montgomery thought it probable there were a few members of this sect in the parts of his district adjoining Ferozepore, in the direction of Attarce.

Mr. Kinchant, in a paper dated the 4th October 1866, puts number of Kookas in Goordaspoor down at 100.

In Ferozepore, on the 27th October 1866, Lieutenant

Wimberly estimates the number of Kookas at one thousand.

Captain Tulloch reports on the 27th October 1866 that the sect in his District (Sealkote) do not muster more than 200, but adds that 80,000 necklaces have been given away by Ram Singh, to a like number of admitted disciples. In 1863 the Native Inspector thought the sect numbered 300, whilst Lieutenant McNeile considered 3,000 nearer the mark.

Captain Wall, writing on the 22nd September 1866, says the Kookas in Goojanwalla may number 2,000.

Major Perkins, under date the 20th September, considers 60,000 to be an outside estimate of the total number of Kooka converts, of whom about 2,000 are in Loodiana.

Material is wanting for any accurate measure of the number of Ram Singh's followers, and little reliance can be placed on the figures collected. We possess no accurate census of the population of the Punjab, and the reasons which have hitherto hindered its being taken apply with still greater force to an attempt to obtain an accurate statement of the numbers of a new religious sect.

The bulk of Ram Singh's proselytes have been obtained amongst the poorer classes, but a few Sirdars and people of note have joined the sect. Native rumours from several quarters have reached this office that the Maharajah of Puttiala has been converted, but whether this be true or false there can be no doubt that his uncle, Sirdar Mungul Singh of Bhishanpura, is one of their leaders, and is reported to have political objects in view. Sirdar Mungul Singh is related to the Rajahs of Dholepore and Bhurtpore, and is known by the fraternity as the "General." A Puttiala Jagirdar named Lukka Singh, of Bhurnahpore, is another of the leading disciples. Before proceeding to give the names of Ram Singh's principal followers, it may be convenient to mention that in 1863 an idea was generally prevalent that Ram Singh, derived his power, success and spiritual authority (for his disciples implicitly obey and trust him) from a sacred copy of Govind Singh's *Granth*, which is supposed to contain a prophecy that in these latter days, a great Sikh reformer of the carpenter class, named Ram Singh, should arise. One story is to the effect that Ram Singh stole the

Grunth from his old master, Baluk Singh, another, that the book was purchased by the Maharajah of Puttiala through whom Ram Singh must have obtained it; but this last version seems improbable, and needs the support of further evidence.

The following are names of some of Ram Singh's leading disciples; they are arranged for ready reference, under the districts to which they belong :

Loodiana

Ram Singh of Bhaince, Leader of the sect.

Jussa Singh ditto, Ram Singh's father.

Soodh Singh, ditto, an authorized propagandist (Mr. Kinchant). Sahib Singh with Ram Singh, an authorized propagandist. To be Ram Singh's successor (Captain Menzies and Lieutenant Ramsay).

Bhuggut Singh of Loodiana, a letter-carrier (Lieutenant Ramsay).

Umbala

Kan Singh of Umballa.

Bhagan Singh do.

Goordut Singh of Bunnood.

Bikhram of Auundpore.

Jut Singh

Shere Singh

Nihal Singh

Shunmun Singh



of Dehra Bussee.

Ootum Singh of Chinar Majra.

Kan Singh

Metab Singh



of Umballa .

Jut Singh of Bunnood.

Umritsur.

Narain Singh, mentioned as Sooba for the Malwa by Captain Millet; also as propagandist for the same by Captain Menzies.

Sahib Singh, mentioned by Captain Millett as a Sooba for the Malwa, and also by Major McAndrew as having recently visited Ram Singh and being one of his chief lieutenants.

Jowahir Singh, a propagandist for the Malwa (Captain Menzies).

Roor Singh, a leading disciple, called on Captain Menzies to take his orders for the Dewalee arrangements in 1866.

Akalee Singh, *alias* Harsa Singh, late a disciple of the Guru Ram Das. (This man is mentioned by Captain Moseley as a Kooka, but the proof is not conclusive.)

Hussawa Singh	}	of Umritsur.
Ramdas Bux		
Dyal Singh		

Dasodur Singh	}	of Roorkee.
Suchet Singh		
Nutha Singh		

Nihal Singh of Ogikoh.

Shohale Singh	}	of Gurunthgurh.
Gopal Singh		
Kirpal Singh		

Dewa Singh	}	of Umritsur.
Gurceeb Singh		
Chunda Singh		
Jodur Singh		
Sham Singh		
Jeewun Singh		

Hurree Singh	}	of Umritsur.
Soodh Singh		
Lukha Singh		
Luhna Singh		

Chunda Singh	}	of Futehwal.
Kala Singh		

Lall Singh } of Bandurchuk.
Bulloo Singh }

Sookah Singh } of Chuk Ugawan.
Gunda Singh }

Goopal Singh } of La Mehra.
Nihal Singh }
Narain Singh }

Ootam Singh }
Bussawa Singh } of Umritsur.

Lall Singh of Bynsowal.
Khazan Singh of Umritsur.

Jaymal Singh }
Jowahir Singh } of Mulowal.

Moola Singh of Shahdurra
Sahib Singh of Umritsur.
Khocsal Singh of Nungul.
Futteh Singh of Gullola.

Bhoop Singh }
Bhoodh Singh } of Kanah Kuchna.
Nihal Singh }

Lal Singh, Ravee Par.

Jawahir Singh } of Durriana.
Sahib Singh }

Nihal Singh of Kote.
Goolab Singh of Beyah.
Goolab Singh of Umritsur.
Bussawa Singh of Mean Wal.

Ferozepore.

Narain Singh of Muktesur, one of the leading disciples (Captain Menzies).

Sobha Singh, propagandist for the Manjha (Captain Menzies).

Wurnam Singh, Futteh Singh, and Jymul Singh, Kookas, convicted of destroying tombs (Lieutenant Wimberly).

Mallook Singh, a leading man (noted by Major Perkins and Mr. Haslett), Lumberdar of Phollahwalla (Lieutenant Wimberly).

Ootum Singh of Tukhtoopore.

Sahib Singh of Manookeh.

Jeeta Singh	}	of Billaspore.
Goormuck Singh		
Mullock Singh		
Nutha Singh		

Boota Singh	}	of Kheree.
Bahal Singh		
Samund Singh		
Ruttun Singh		
Samurd Singh		
Savah Singh		

Jey Singh of Kooliya.

Dhyan Singh	}	of Tukhtoopore.
Mosudder Singh		
Nund Singh		
Heera Singh		

Utter Singh.

Narain Singh of Sikhewal.

Jeewun Singh of Mocokhtsur.

Samund Singh	}	of Kooliya.
Samunda Singh		
Utter Singh		
Kista Singh		

Sohale Singh of Sydokch.

Jodh Singh } of Ferozepore.
Nihal Singh }

Jodh Singh of Mehraj.

Kurm Singh of Sydokch.

Doona Singh } of Rampore.
Mcotee Ram }

Hurree Singh of Puttokeh.

Bayla Singh of Tukhtoopore.

Goordaspore.

Bal Singh, a Sergeant in the Police.

Khan Singh of Malote.

Prem Singh of Umbotah, a brother of Balak Singh, the original founder (locality of Umbotah not ascertained).

Mr. Kinchant mentions the above three men as authorised propagandists.

Soodur Singh, Mahalpore (Mr. Kinchant).

Bhugwan Singh, " "

Heera Singh, " "

Nahung Singh, a leading man (Captain Menzies).

Jullundhur.

Kan Singh, a leading propagandist. Captain Menzies heard of him as being at Kurtarpore; Major Perkins and Lieutenant Ramsay state he lives at Doorgapore, Thannah Ragoon.

Roor Singh, mentioned by Captain Millet as a Sooba for the Jullundhur Doab.

Dhyan Singh } of Billeh.
Soodh Singh }

Khuzan Singh
 Lukka Singh
 Dyal Singh
 Wuzeer Singh
 Sohail Singh
 Shere Singh
 Hurdut Singh
 Bussawa Singh

} of Mothuddeh.

Ditto
 Fukeereeya
 Munkul Singh

} of Dholnee.

Mosudda Singh
 Mujja Singh

} of Doorgapore.

Nehal Singh of Mothuddeh.

Kala Singh of Khoer.

Ootum Singh of Takhtoopore.

Sudda Singh
 Sahib Singh
 Kau Singh

} of Doorgapore.

Sham Singh
 Alla Singh
 Bhola Singh
 Sewa Singh
 Mahtab Singh
 Punjab Singh

} of Phillore.

} of Billaspore.

Nutha Singh, of Dhoneeh.

Nibal Singh, of Doorgapore.

Heera Singh
 Shere Singh
 Shere Singh

} of Dholnee.

Heerah Singh
 Jewahir Singh

} of Doorgapore.

Hurriya Singh of Kurnaa.

Prem Singh of Jullundhur.

Utter Singh	}	of Doorgapore. Examined by Mr. Elliott.
Futteh Singh		
Nihal Singh		
Beer Singh		
Beodh Singh		
Jaymul Singh		

Kan Singh	}	of Mothuddeh.
Nihal Singh		
Dyal Singh		

Jewun Singh of Phillore.

Futteh Singh	}	of Mothuddeh.
Gurda Singh		

Bhugwan Singh	}	of Nawashahur.
Dewa Singh		
Dasonda Singh		

Prem Singh	}	of Phulwariau.
Rara Singh		

Dasonda Singh of Mothuddeh.

Hooshiarpore.

Soodh Singh, convicted of damaging idols, said by Lieutenant Scott to be the head man of the sect in the district.

Sirdar Bhag Singh of Poossee, who is suspected of being a Kooka; he denies it; went surety for Soodh Singh and his party.

Sealkote.

Jameyut Singh, Lumberdar of Gil, mentioned by Lieutenant McNeile as a leading Kooka, and again very recently by Captain Wall as a propagandist.

Jewun Singh of Killa Sobha Singh, a propagandist (Captain Tulloch).

Nihal Singh } of Killa Sobha Singh.
 Luhna Singh }

Hukma Singh } of Lukhiyana.
 Gunga Singh }

Dasodur Singh of Gil.

Seokha Singh of Toghur.

Gunga Singh of Dehra.

Moola Singh } of Manookehwal.
 Jowala Singh }

Bussawa Singh } of Killa Sobha Singh.
 Rocr Singh }
 Kan Singh }

Rawulpindee.

Kanba, a Sooba, living at Huzroo, mentioned, in 1863, by Captain Millett. Captain Menzies notes a Kanh Singh, of Huzroo, as a leading propagandist. Captain Millett says Kanba has two aliases, Kahn Singh and Baba Chuckranwalla; he is doubtless identical with the man named by the Captain Menzies. He is stated to have considerable influence.

Ram Kishan } of Huzroo.
 Hurree Singh }

Goojranwalla.

Jota or Jhota Singh mentioned by Captain Walli, and Mr. Bruere, as a chief disciple, by Captain Menzies as the propagandist for the districts Trans-Ravce. He was accused of damaging shrines, & c. His home is at Tupaya, Pusroor.

Brahma Singh, a Trans-Ravce propagandist (Captain Menzies).

Goojranwalla Town.

Jhowahir Singh, Soucar.

Metab Singh, "

Utter Singh, "

Khan Singh	Soucar
Kurram Singh,	Shop-keeper.
Sunt Singh,	"
Gurda Singh,	"
Tara Singh,	"
Ameer Singh,	"
Khewan Singh,	"
Suchet Singh,	"
Chunda Singh,	Jhabran.
Doola Singh,	"
Dull Singh,	"
Jeewan Singh,	"
Hursa Singh,	"
Phoola Singh,	Ruttala.
Gunda Singh,	"
Hera Singh,	"
Dull Singh,	"
Mool Singh,	"
Bagh Singh,	"
Lal Singh,	Bhooka Cheema.
Thakoor Singh,	"
Kishen Singh,	"
Kan Singh,	"
Ram Singh,	"
Gunda Singh,	"
Roopa Singh,	"
Nihal Singh,	Mulka.
Goormuck Singh,	"

Captain Wall reports that the men above named are the local "centres" for his district, and that each has from 10 to 20 followers.

Goormuck Singh	}	of Maha.
Malngal		
Heera Singh		
		Mullair Kotla.

Dhunna Singh of Chuk.
Utter Singh of do.

Jeendh.

Jay Singh of Puddee.

Puttiala.

Bhugwan Singh of Behleh.
 Jodh Singh of "
 Utter Singh of Nungul.
 Narunjun Singh of "
 Narain Singh of "
 Dhiyan Singh of Kulmome.
 Ram Singh of "
 Boodh Singh of "
 Lukka Singh of Sookheespoora.
 Dyal Singh of Khanpore.
 Prem Singh of Fattchgurh.
 Hurree Singh of Mookutsur.
 Bhugwan Singh of Bumtur.
 Jewahir Singh of Bhotenev.
 Dyal Singh of Buthinda.
 Nattha Singh of Bhagee.
 Soodh Singh of "
 Dhyam Singh of "
 Dyal Singh of "
 Dhuram Singh "
 Giyan Singh of Bhagee.
 Maha Singh of "
 Surroop Singh of "
 Hurnam Singh of Russoolpore.
 Hurnam Singh of Puttiala.
 Hurnam Singh of Moolapore.
 Khurk Singh of Sehlon.
 Deya Singh of Chintawala.
 Sungut Singh of Puttoken.
 Teja Singh of Rampore.
 Hurnam Singh of "
 Metab Singh of Man.
 Chunda Singh of Bhadour.

Gotum Singh of Manewala.
Dewa Singh of Nahu.

Nabha.

Dalla Singh of Puttokeh.
Kanh Singh of "
Maha Singh of "
Virriam Singh of "

Kupeorthala.

Khan Singh of Nul.

—o—

APPENDIX—A.

No.2.

An abstract of reports received by the Inspector General of Police, Punjab, regarding the conduct of the Kooka Sect during the year 1867.

—o—

MEMORANDUM.

Central Police Office, Lahore, the 26th January 1868.

The following confidential letter and despatch are published for the information of police officers :

No 1058, dated the 15th July 1867.

Memo from—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

WITH reference to Major Hutchinson's No. 33 of 21st January last, and enclosures, forwards, for information and guidance, copy of a despatch from the Government of India, with enclosure, from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, directing that Ram Singh, Kooka, and his associates be quietly but very narrowly watched.

No. 662, dated the 6th July 1867.

From—The Under Secretary to the Government of India. Foreign Department.

To—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

With reference to your letter No. 157-54, dated 2nd February 1867, submitting a report on the Kooka sect and their leader Ram Singh of Bhainee, I am directed to forward for the information and guidance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the enclosed copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 97, dated the 31st May last.

No.57, dated the 31st May 1867.

From—The Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

To—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of
India in Council.

I HAVE persued with interest and attention the report on the new Sikh sect of Kookas, which has laid before me in Council as an enclosure to Your Excellency's letter in the Foreign Department, No.49 of the 4th March last.

2. This report, which you have forwarded without remark, appears to show that the Kookas have ulterior political objects of a dangerous character and while I do not at present, see reason to urge on your Government any active interference with the proceedings of Ram Singh & his associates, I must express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that these persons may be quietly but very narrowly watched.

No 11 -183, dated the 26th January 1868.

From—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

To—The Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

I have the honor to forward for the information of Government, 30 copies of a resume of the correspondence which passed in my office during the year 1867 regarding the Kooka sect.

2. Though I am of opinion that no restraint need yet to be placed on the movements of Ram Singh, yet I consider that his proceedings and those of his lieutenants require to be closely and constantly watched.

3. This sect must be looked on for some time to come as a possible source of great danger, though the present aspirations and aims of its leader appear peaceful, inasmuch as a large religious federation in all the enthusiasm of its early days and fresh faith may

be much more easily used for purposes prejudicial to our rule than any of the older and less cohesive religious societies, which lack the same vigorous energy and life.

4. It is not possible to form a correct estimate of the present numbers of the Kooka fraternity.

For facility of reference, the different reports received in this office during the year regarding the Kooka sect have been abstracted, and are printed in the following pages for confidential circulation.

It is requested that any noteworthy information regarding Ram Singh's movements may be reported (in the form, Weekly No. III) to the Central Police Office.



ABSTRACT.

In January last a compilation of all the particulars regarding the Kooka sect, then available in this office, was made and circulated; it appears convenient to publish, for the information of the officers of Government, the following resume of the reports received since then.

To facilitate reference, the history of the sect during the past year is classified under the following general heads:

I.—The progress of the sect in proselytism.

II.—Offences against the law committed by Kookas, from religious zeal.

III.—Meetings and large assemblies attended by Kooks, with a brief account of the principal ones.

I- The progress of the sect in proselytism.

Reports from all quarters show that the number of Ram Singh's disciples is on the increase. In Umballa Captain Harris, District Superintendent of Police, noticed that prior to 1866, there

were few Kookas in the district, but that the of tenents of the new faith had largely gained credence of late in the pergunnahs of Umballa and Ladhwa, where now might be found some 15 villages composed almost entirely of believers in Ram Singh's creed. The population of these villages he estimated at 4000, consisting principally of lower castes, such as Ramdasseas, Tirkhans, Lohars, and Jats. Soodh Singh and Kan Singh seem to be Soobas usually deputed to Umballa, but, when Captain Harris wrote, Ram Singh had no regular lieutenant appointed to the locality. The district meetings were small, and the zeal of the faithful was kept alive by the presence of a few houseless fanatics who have joined the sect. There were but seven Kookas in the police. The influential and respectable natives of the district, whose views were taken concerning the movement, consider that the motives of the sect are as yet purely religious.

In January 1867 Captain Wall reported a rumour had reached him of the conversion of Sirdar Shumshere Singh of Raja Sansi in Umritsur District, the head of the once powerful Sindheeawala family. On inquiry it appeared that there was no foundation for the story, though it is probable Ram Singh endeavoured to gain over the Sirdar, who declined to adhere to a creed which would necessitate his abstinence from flesh and wine.

About the same time a communication was received from Major Mercer, Deputy Commissioner of Sealkote, giving the result of his inquiries, and stating his opinion that the movement was a purely religious one.

In February Captain Baillie brought to notice the fact that he had received credible information that a Native gentleman of some note in Cabul, by name Abdul Razak, had sent his two sons on a mission to Bhainee, it is supposed, to learn Ram Singh's doctrines. It was not found possible to elicit any particulars regarding this journey, though it would have been interesting to know how the fame of the village carpenter had reached so far.

It may perhaps be noticed under this head that the Kookas seem to regard with veneration the ordinary Hindoo festivals. As an instance in point, the Kookas of Shekhwan, in the Lahore District,

celebrated the Hindoo gathering of the Bussunt Punchmee.¹

The tenets of the sect were described at length in the former pamphlet; but the following opinions, gathered from the Native officers of one of our frontier regiments, are useful as depicting the estimation in which the sect is held :

"They all seem to have a great respect for the tenets of the sect, and agree that it is an effort to restore the Sikh religion to its original purity, and to do away with the innovations which have crept into it, such as consulting Brahmins as to the proper day for marriages, & c. From what they say the belief of the sect appears to be a pure deism. They hold that God is one, not made or born, but existing by himself, and they appear to hold in utter reprobation the Hindoo belief of various incarnations of the deity. They inculcate a very strict morality, condemning most strongly lying, theft and adultery, and appear anxious merely to revive the Sikh religion in its original state of purity, and to eradicate the errors which have, from time to time, defiled it. All with whom I have conversed on the subject laugh at the idea of the movement having any political significance, and regard it simply as a religious one. There is no doubt that all Sikhs, and the Kookas among them, would be glad to see their own rule re-established; but I do not think that any danger is to be apprehended from the spread of this sect, further than the well known fact that in any disturbance, very strict religionists, or fanatics of any denomination, are apt to let their passions carry them away, and to be more desperate than those who are more careless in their religious views. As a proof of this I may mention the state of ecstasy into which the disciples to this sect fall, and which all the Sikhs with whom I have conversed on the subject attribute to great mental excitement. I believe that the sect is extending its limits rapidly, but that it has not yet acquired a great head in the Trans-Sutlej States, may, I think, be gathered from the

1. The Bussant Punchmee is a fair which is held in the month of February to celebrate the change of weather and to rejoice that the season in which out-of-door recreation may be enjoyed has arrived.—C.P.O. (Kukas celebrate Basant Panchmi because Guru Ram Singh was born on this day. —editor).

fact that among some 270 Sikhs, enlisted from most classes in those provinces, we have only one Kooka. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that majority of the members of this sect are men of low castes¹, from amongst whom we do not recruit; but still I think this is enough to prove that it is not a popular movement, although all our Sikhs agree that the tenets are excellent, and in strict accordance with the rules of Sikh religion. I have often asked Sikhs how it is that they, believing as they do that there is only one God, can put any faith in and render any obedience to Brahmins, who acknowledge a large number of deities, and their answer has in every case been the same, - "That they do not themselves believe in them, but their women do, and to please them they are obliged to pay attention to what the Brahmins say".

From Goojranwalla, Sealkot, and Lahore several reports have been received testifying to the spread of Ram Singh's doctrines.

Major Bamfield, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Umballa Circle has observed that the strict tone of morality which, in the first years of the sect, was such an encouraging feature in the tenets of Ram Singh's disciples, is gradually becoming lowered. The new converts, he learns, practise thieving and other vices without reprobation, and are not excommunicated, as they would have been a short time back. From this he thinks Ram Singh wishes now rather to add to the number of his followers than to scrutinize closely the reform of their manners. It is stated that the attractions the sect presents, which induce men to come forward and join it, are the moderate expenditure at marriage ceremonies and the immunity enjoyed from the Brahminical oppression and exaction.

Major Bamfield's report, of which the above paragraph is a brief summary, was laid before the Government. It was considered that there was no cause shown to interfere with Ram Singh, and that laxity of morals on the part of his younger converts could not be regarded *per se* as proof of evil designs on the part of their head teacher.

1. This is probably the right reason, as Jullundhur and Hoshiarpore are full of Kookas. Religious reforms usually commence with the poor - C.P.O.

The Kookas have recently set apart a place for worship in the civil station of Lahore¹.

During the year the restrictions placed on Ram Singh's movements were withdrawn, and he is now allowed to go where he pleases. Under the head of meetings, the accounts will show that the conduct of Ram Singh and his followers has been orderly, and that hitherto he has proved himself worthy of the indulgence shown him. It appears extremely doubtful whether, on Ram Singh's death, the sect will retain its present religious character.

Fazi Kadir, the Inspector of Goojranwalla District, reported that a number of Kookas had arms, and were ready to rise against the Government, but his charge has not been brought home. A writer in the Kohi-Noor, a Native newspaper published at Lahore, took a similar view, whilst praising highly the unselfishness and hospitality of the sect.

In October, shortly before the Dewallee fair, Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Umritsur, sent a spy to Bhainee to ascertain the probable number of Kookas summoned to Umritsur, and to collect any information of their movements he could elicit. The man's statement may conveniently be abstracted this division of the subject.

"At the Dusserah about 3,000 followers of Ram Singh assembled at Bhainee², amongst them were the following Soobas : Kan Singh of Honshiarpore, Lukka Singh, Sudda Singh³, Nutha Singh, Sahib Singh, Jowahir Singh, Khazan Singh, Wazeer Singh, and Narain Singh of Umritsur. When I arrived at Bhainee I found that Sirdar Mungul Singh of Puttiala (with five sowars) had come to pay his respects to Ram Singh. The Sirdar informed Ram Singh that he had been transferred to Dholpore, and that he would send him Rupees 200 a month. Ram Singh said he had written to the Poojaries of Anundpore, expostulating with them for preventing his

1. Establishment of Kuka Dharamsala. —editor.

2. Dusserah festival of 1867 A.D. —editor.

3. Sudh Singh. —editor.

visiting their temple, while persons who drank wine and ate flesh were allowed to enter, and threatening them with the punishment of being included in the list of those whose names he had entered in a letter to the Guru. This missive to the Poojaries had been seized by the authorities. On hearing this the Sirdar said he hoped the Government would not coerce Ram Singh. Ram Singh replied he was coerced in Sumbut 1919 (A.D. 1863) but in return he had their ships swamped in the cyclone, and the Governor General died. He added that, 'if they annoy me now, all their houses will be burnt. The Sut-Guru is driving the Russians this way. The Russians are not coming of their own accord'. A constable of the Umbala Police, Kan Singh, then came in and reported to Ram Singh that a Kooka, Hurnam Singh, and one Piragdas, had not escaped, but had been convicted at Umbala and sentenced to transportation. He had accompanied the prisoners as far as Loodiana, and had endeavoured to alleviate their sufferings, as the other men molested them. Kan Singh also said he had received a medal from the District Superintendent of Police with orders to wear it round the neck, but he did not want to do so. Ram Singh replied, - 'While they are here wear it, when they move off, take it off. Though we are called Tirkhans, we will be above all.' On Kan Singh expressing a wish to be always with Ram Singh, the latter told him to go and resign the service. Ram Singh has issued orders to his followers to assemble at the Umritsur Dewallee, and about 15,000 may be expected.'

There is a report current that Ram Singh is identifying himself with the new avatar prophesied in Guruth by Govind Singh, namely, that in 1878 a new man would be born, who in 1897, would be initiated by his Guru; it is now (Sumbut) 1924, so Ram Singh gives out he was born in 1878, and was initiated at Huzroo in 1897.¹

1. ਅਵਤਾਰਿ ਅਨਤਰੈ ਜਾਨਿ ਸਤਾਨਾਇ ਹੋਗੁ ਤੀ ਉਤਰੀ ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਜੇਲਾ ॥ —Adi Granth-Page 723.

Guru Ram Singh was born on 3 Feb. 1816 A.D., Basant Panchami day of Sambat 1872 and was initiated in the year 1841 A.D. (Sambat 1898). —editor.

The following is a translation by Mr. Christie, Assistant Superintendent of Police, of the passage in the Granth above referred to :

The attributes of the Almighty, I Nanuk, recite as a man,
Who created content and pleasure sits alone looking on.

The true Almighty of true justice, may my prose do justice,
When this body falls to pieces, then Hindoostan will believe
this saying—

In 78 will come, will go in 97, another person of note.

Nanuk speaks these words of truth at the hour of truth
(morning).

II.—Offences against the law committed by Kookas.

The following is a brief summary of such offences as have been reported during the past year, grouped under the districts in which they were perpetrated :

Lahore.—On the 24th December, Ruttin Singh, a Brahmin of Shekhwan, reported at the Mouredke Police Station, that some of the new sect of Kookas recently established in that village had destroyed, by digging up with spades, two places sacred to Hunooman and Lutchman worshipped by Hindoos of the village.

Loonah and Nehalla deposed to having been informed about midnight by one Oomar, a choora, that he had heard some one digging in the Hindoo place of worship. They went to the spot and found two men digging, destroying the images of Hunooman and Lutchman; both trespassers ran away on seeing the deponents, who started in pursuit and succeeded in capturing one Dewa Singh. He begged to be let off, and said his companion was Urjun Singh; the latter was sent for, but as no one could swear to his identity, he was discharged.

Dewa Singh was convicted, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, two months to be solitary, and to pay a fine of Rupees 25, or six months' further imprisonment in default.

This sentence has had a very wholesome effect, as no fresh offences have been since reported in the Lahore District.

Loodiana—Major Perkins mentioned in his diary (January) that a party of twenty - two Kookas defaced a place of worship at the village of Champar Police Station, Dehlon. The Two men in charge of the temple declared that their arms were tied whilst the work of demolition went on. The District Superintendent went out to Dehlon and personally investigated the case. The damage done amounted to about Rupees 100; and Major Perkins considered that, if the accused were convicted, they deserved a severe sentence as an example to others. The evidence for the prosecution was, however, deemed insufficient, and the defendants were discharged.

A few weeks after the occurrence the Deputy Inspector of Police at Dehlon reported that twenty seven graves had been destroyed at a village named Khutree Koseh; the parties suspected were four Muzbee Kookas (Khazana, Kana, Bussawa Singh, and Bahadur Singh). These graves or "murrees" are the sites where the cremation of bodies take place. After burning the body the ashes are collected, and a small heap or mound made, which is plastered over with mud; these may be seen outside every Hindoo village. The graves the four men injured were those of their own friends and relatives. The deed was done in the middle of the day, so that no difficulty was experienced in obtaining evidence, and the accused were sent for trial; convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rupees 10 each, or one month additional imprisonment in default.

About a month subsequent to this event a small meeting of Kookas was held in the house of Megh Singh, a resident of Punuddi, in the Khanna Station. The guests remained hearing the Granth until midnight, when they separated. Megh Singh, Sher Singh, Jota Singh and Gulaba (Muzbees), however went outside the village and destroyed a "murree", a "pir khanna" (Mahomedan place of worship), and four graves. The Deputy Inspector of Police, on hearing of the affair, at once suspected Kookas, who confessed. They were tried, convicted, and sentenced to six months imprisonment, and a fine of Rs. 10, or, in default, one month's additional imprisonment.

Umritsur—Towards the end of February Captain Menzies, District Superintendent, reported that the Kookas had been holding a number of meetings under the Soobas Brahma Singh and Jota Singh. He added that he had received intimation of their having damaged musjids, thakoordwars, graves, & c, in the jurisdiction of police stations of Jhandialla and Loopokee. In Jhundialla a khangah at Sheikh Tritta was injured, and in Lopokee a khangah at Kuhala; a Hindoo dewa at Chauvinda was broken, some masonry graves were destroyed, and fires lighted over earthen ones at Kukker. The complaining parties could adduce no proof, but doubtless the damage was done by Kookas. Moreover, the plaintiffs were disinclined to prosecute, and merely wished to bring the matter to notice. The Zaildars were urged to exert themselves, and defect and put a stop to such proceedings.

Some three weeks after the issue of these orders the Chowkeedar of village Mullokee, in the Ryah Police Station, brought one Visaka Singh in custody to the latter post. Visaka Singh was a resident of village Dharcawal (Police Station Narowal), and had been caught in the act of destroying a Mahomedan grave by three men of Mullokee. A gathering of Kookas had taken place in the village, and the Mahomedans had prudently placed these men to watch their burying ground. The man was sent for trial.

It was reported that the Kookas had given the title of *zillah* (district) to the village of Kukker, and *Thannah* (Police Station) to that of Puttehwal. Both these places are in the Ajnala Tehseel.

A few days elapsed when two more cases of a similar description were sent for trial from the Ajnala Tehseel. In the first, Pertab Singh, Lena Singh, Lukka Singh, Piara Singh, Nihal Singh, and Kesur Singh, Kookas of Kukker, were charged with having destroyed tombs and fired a masjid belonging to their village. In the second, Budhawa Singh and Bhoop Singh of Kukker were accused of twice destroying the samad (grave) of their ancestors. The plaintiffs, it appeared, had condoned their first offence and re-built the tomb. These proceedings much incensed the village community of Kukker. The Mahomedans and other classes were loud in their

complaints against the Kooka sect, and accused them not only of destroying their relations' graves, but of cutting the crops of tobacco growing near the village.

Colonel McAndrew, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore Circle, took occasion on his visit to Anandpore in the Hooshiarpore District to point out to Ram Singh the discredit such outrages brought on his faith; he solemnly affirmed he had issued the strictest orders to his followers against interfering with shrines or tombs, and expressed a wish that the offenders might be punished.

The accused in the above-mentioned cases were discharged by the Deputy Commissioner of Umritsur with a warning.

Jullundhur—Captain Ramsay, District Superintendent, reported the prevalence of a rumour that the Kookas intended to destroy the sacred shrine at Nigahia, but it subsequently proved groundless.

Goordaspore—In March, Mr. Kinchant, District Superintendent, reported that an image of Shio had been taken out of a thakoordwara, and that Kookas were suspected. In the Dera Nanuk Police Station some Kookas had pulled down a wall in the village of a Teturke.

Goojranwalla—Captain Wall, District Superintendent, reported that several shrines were injured in the district, and that strong suspicion rested on the members of the Kooka sect; but as the mischief was invariably done at night when no one was moving about outside the villages, it was impossible to obtain evidence. The khangah of Hussein Shah outside the city of Goojranwalla was injured; filth was thrown into the tomb of Pir Goodree; the tank of Dya Ram was damaged, and also that of Hookma Singh. At Badokce beef bones were thrown into the shrine, and the building was marred.

Sealkote.—Some tombs were destroyed in the village of Sukhana, but there was no proof that Kookas were concerned. On the contrary, it appears to have been done by some one out of spite to the villagers.

III.—Meetings and large assemblies attended by Kookas, with a brief account of the principal ones.

The small gatherings of Kookas are extremely numerous, and it would be impossible to enter into details giving the date and place of every meeting, even were the information available. At most only such assemblies as attracted notice can be mentioned. The meetings will be touched upon under the districts in which they were held, but it may be well to place at the commencement of this head the instructions issued to the police of the Lahore and Sealkote Districts to guide them in their dealings with these assemblies. The police were ordered to keep a surveillance over meetings of the Kooka brotherhood; and when such large gatherings were expected as might reasonably be anticipated to end in a breach of the peace, the usual steps were to be adopted for having them put a stop to.

It was reported from Sirsa, that the Mulout Kookas gave out that as Ram Singh had been debarred access to the Mokutsur fair, they would have one of their own at Bhainee.

Shortly after this, the District Superintendent reported that Ram Singh, in consequence of his inability to leave Bhainee himself, had issued general invitation to his followers to assemble at that place during the Holey. Major Perkins District Superintendent of Police, Loodiana, was of opinion that the meeting should not be interfered with, and the Inspector General desired it might take place, provided the number of people collected was not excessive. It passed off quietly.

A small meeting was held in February, of about 30 Kookas, at Koom on the Loodiana and Machewara road. Ram Singh in this instance neglected to obtain permission to call the assembly.

There was a meeting of Kookas about ten days subsequently at house of Megh Singh of Punuddi. The destruction of graves committed by himself and his guests has been noticed under the second section.

In March a meeting was held at Kotleh-Dukh, where 150 new converts were initiated.

In the Lahore District small assemblies were reported at Shekhwan and Busseeree.

The following is an account by Colonel Mc Andrew, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore Circle, of the visit of Ram Singh to the great Anundpore fair in Hooshiarpore in March Last :

"I proceeded to Anundpore to superintend the police arrangements during the melah held there; before leaving Lahore on the 10th of the month, I was informed by the Secretary to Government that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor had given Ram Singh, leader of the Kooka Punth, permission to visit Anundpore. I informed the Commissioner of Jullundhur, and consulted with him at that station on 12th; I also sent orders to Hooshiarpore to collect as many police as could be spared from other duties. On the 13th I arrived at Hooshiarpore and consulted Mr. Perkins, Deputy Commissioner, as to the arrangements to be made, taking with me an Inspector, Deputy Inspector, and 50 men of the Hooshiarpore Police, and a Deputy Inspector and 10 men from Jullundhur, all were picked men, old soldiers Mahomedans and Rajpoots. Sirdar Bahadoor Uttur Singh, late Comandant of the Sherdil Regiment, and Kootub Shah, Inspector of Police, Ferozepore, and Futtehdeen Khan, Inspector, Umritsur District, also accompanied me.

"Attended by Mr. Hatchell, Assistant Superintendent of Hooshiarpore, I arrived at Annundpore on the morning of the 17th and encamped in a convenient spot, out of the way but within a short distance of the Kes-Gurh temple, dedicated to Guru Gobind Singh. I decided on keeping the policemen as much out of sight as possible, and to carry on all arrangements through the influential and trustworthy officers I had brought with me. On the 18th Mr. Perkins, Deputy Commissioner, arrived, and we proceeded to ascertain the feelings of all parties on the subject of Ram Singh's visit. The head Mahunt of the Kes-Gurh, Hurree Singh at first seemed to object strongly to the admission of the Kookas, and expected that we would, on the part of Government, interfere to stop them. We fully explained to him that the temple being open to all, and that we were only there to maintain law and order, we could see no cause

why the Kookas should be excluded by us on the part of Government. After a good deal of talking, the Mahunt's objections were reduced to one, which was that the Kookas should not uncover their heads, shout, or do anything contrary to the customs of the shrine; that if they came and went like other Sikhs, he had no objection to urge. We told him this would be arranged, and he went away, not, I think, quite satisfied. In the evening I sent Sirdar Uttur Singh to him to say that as we agreed to all he required, Government would hold him and his shrine responsible for any disturbance, as the Mahunt had urged the risk of disturbance on the part of Nahungs, who had come in unusual numbers (some 200) to their own temple of Anandpore. I sent for the Mahunt of this place, and Mr. Perkins expined to him that the Nahungs must keep quiet, or it would not be well for him or them, and all seemed satisfactorily arranged.

"On the mornings of the 19th Ram Singh arrived in state, followed by some 20 mounted men and about 2,500 people on foot. As he passed in front of our camp, I went out and directed Soodh Singh, one of his head Mahunts, who led the procession on horseback, to dismount and pay his respects to Mr. Perkins, the Deputy Commissioner. On this Ram Singh and all his head men immediately dismounted, and I introduced him to Mr. Perkins, who took him into his tent, where we held a long conversation, the followers standing outside. Ram Singh stated his object was to perform the Dhursun (worship) at the shrine of Guru Gobind Singh, but that he was ready to do whatever we ordered; that if we objected, he would return as he came. We explained to him the objections made to his followers uncovering their heads and shouting; he seemed rather put out at this, and said that, if his people recited the "subut," he could not answer for them, as they lost all command of their action. We told him that, under these circumstances, we could not permit this to be done, as it would give offence, was not according to Sikh custom, and would cause disturbances for which Government would hold himself and his followers responsible. He did not seem to like this argument, and agreed that the 'subut' should not be recited, and that he would not take more than 100 followers with him when he himself visited the temple at an early hour next morning which

we fixed. He then retired with his followers. In the evening I visited his camp, taking no one with me but Sirdar Uttur Singh; he, Ram Singh, was seated under a 'shamiana' surrounded by his people, on the ground there must have been about 5,000 of them, and they were flocking in from all quarters. They were quiet and orderly, and many of the men and women well dressed. I saw no people in a state of excitement, or insensible. Ram Singh on seeing me immediately left his seat and came forward and saluted, which is not always the case with Gurus and other religious magnates. I returned his salaam and went back to camp.

"On the evening of the 19th, Mr Forsyth, Commissioner of Jullundhur Division, arrived in camp, and approved of the arrangements made. The presence of the Commissioner had the best possible effect; the Sodics, Mahunts, and the head people of the place presented themselves; and any party inclined to give trouble at once saw that it would be by no means advisable to do so.

"About 7 in the morning, Ram Singh with some 100 followers proceeded to the Kesh-Gurh Shrine. I did not consider it advisable to station any police guard at the temple, and with the consent of the Commissioner the men were kept in their tents out of sight, but ready for duty. I directed Inspectors Fuzl Hossain, Kootub Shah, and Sirdar Uttur Singh, to go to the temple and see what took place, and to get the people to pass out as quickly as possible. Just as Ram Singh was approaching the temple, I observed a body of Nahungs advancing; they were marching in order, shouting and armed with heavy clubs and small '*koolharees*' (or axes). As they passed the camp, I ordered them to halt and lay down their clubs. Seeing only a Deputy Inspector, Mr. Hatchell, and myself, they refused and commenced arguing in an excited state, and looked as if they meant resistance. Observing this I called for the guard on duty who were inside the tents, and the Nahungs immediately found themselves surrounded by 30 armed men with swords, and their clubs were taken from them in a very short time. They seemed very savage and much disgusted, and refusing to proceed without their clubs, returned to their own *boonga*, where there were about 200 men of

their brother Nahungs. The band disarmed consisted of about 50 Nahungs, and 30 heavy bludgeons and axes were taken from them. I afterwards heard that the Nanhungs had consulted together about Ram Singh and the Kookas visiting the temple, and that, with the exception of this band, they had agreed that it was not advisable to offer any obstruction, but this party insisted on protecting the shrine of the Gura.

"The Commissioner returned to Noorpore on the evening of the 20th and Mr. Perkins to Hooshiarpore; and when I left Anundpore this morning, the greater number of people had left the place; the 'mela' was over. The police guard will return to Hooshiarpore and Jullundhur to-morrow."

The report of Fuzl Hoosseini, the Inspector deputed to the Anundpore fair, will be found at the end of this *precis* as an Appendix; it contains some interesting particulars.

In Sealkote the Deputy Commissioner, Major Mercer forbade the Kookas to hold assemblies without giving him information and obtaining sanction. The Sooba Jameyut Singh is the head of the sect in this district. In September a meeting was held without permission at Killa Sooba Singh. Seven Kookas from Loodiana were in attendance, and the disciples stated they had assembled to pray for the abatement of cholera.

In Umritsur numerous small meetings were held under the Superintendence of Socbas Brahma Singh and Jota Singh. Here also the Deputy Commissioner forbade gatherings of the sect, unless special permission was sought and obtained.

The great event of the year, however, in connection with this sect, was the visit of Ram Singh to the sacred temple at Umritsur last October. Captain Menzie's report on the subject is subjoined. It appears that Ram Singh was accompanied to Umritsur by his wife and daughter. From a Native account it appears that a large number of the Native gentry and tradespeople of Umritsur visited Ram Singh and presented him with offerings to the value of Rs. 700; he also received twelve "thans" (pieces) of fine cloth. He distributed Rs. 350 in blankets to his followers. A female Sooba, a young woman

of 20 years of age, has been appointed to the Umritsur District. Her name is Hockmee; she is a daughter of Ruttun Singh Zemindar, village Durya, (Varyah-ed.) Thannah Sirhali, in the Umritsur District, and her duty is to convert women and receive them into the faith.

When Ram Singh visited the sacred shrine, he paid some small alms, and received, in recognition of his religious character, the following offerings: From the Mahunts of the Durbar Sahib a "doshalla" and a "puggree", from Jhunda Boonga, a "doputta" and "puggree" from Baba Uttul Sahib, a "doputta" with embroidered edge and a "puggree". The Inspector (Narain Singh) states Ram Singh offered Rupees 2 at the Akal Boonga, which was accepted, but they declined to bless him. On his return from the Durbar Sahib, the Mahunts of the Akal Boonga offered to bless him if he would recant the innovations introduced by his sect; this he refused to do. Captain Menzies has apparently made a slight mistake on this point. The following is his report:

"The Dewalee fair has passed off most successfully as far as crime and police arrangements are concerned, though the numbers were very small. Ram Singh Kuka arrived on the 25th, and encamped at a well about a mile out of the city on, the Turn Tarn road. He arrived with an attendance of about 12 or 14 men. Some 800 of his sect had assembled beforehand. This number increased on the 26th and 27th to about 1,200. Besides these, however, there were about 3,000 or 3,500 about the city located in boongas, &c. Ram Singh was informed that he must call on the Commissioner, and Inspector Narain Singh was placed in charge of his camp with instructions to accompany him whenever he left it. He was told that he might go when and where he liked *alone*; but that if he wished to visit the temple in *state*, he must go at half past 5 A.M. on the 27th with no more than 50 followers. The arrangements noticed in my Weekly No. II. To preserve order were duly made, and on Sunday morning the 27th, Ram Singh went to the temple with about 50 followers, though, when inside, this number increased to 200 or 300, as all of his sect in the temple joined him. He was admitted at the temple and other places of worship round the tank, except at the Akal Boonga, where the Nabungs sit, and where Sikhs are

made. Here, on presenting his offerings, they were declined, unless he agreed to pay the fine to be inflicted on him for his sins in introducing innovations. This he declined to do and passed on. He called on the Commissioner on the morning of the 26th. He again visited the Durbar Sahib on the 28th, and remained at his boonga for some time, where Sirdar Shumshere Singh of Raja Sansee and his brother, Thakoor Singh, called on him and presented offerings. He was visited in camp by several of the Native gentlemen of the city, Mahomedan, Hindoo, and Sikh, also by the Reverend Mr. Clark, Mr. Storrs, and Mr. Christie, Assistant Superintendent of Police. During his visit he has made many, some say 2000, proselytes, these include men and women, even children of two and three days of age, who are admitted in order that the family may eat together. Latterly, owing to the numbers to be admitted, he gave up whispering in each convert's ear, and merely repeated the *Wah Guru jee-Ka- Khalsa* out loud to all in a row. He was accompanied by Sirdar Mungul Singh of Dholepore, Puttiala, and by the following Soobas or head men :

Ram Singh and his father, Jussa Singh.

1. Soodh Singh.
2. Sahib Singh.
3. Narian Singh of Mokutsur.
4. Malook Singh of Phollawalla.
5. Samund Singh of Kooliya.
6. Nahung Singh (real name Kan Singh Nahung) of Goordaspore.
7. Khazan Singh.
8. Lukka Singh.
9. Jameyat Singh of Killa - Sooba Singh.
10. Jota Singh of Goojranwala.
11. Brahma Singh. (All the above are mentioned in the pamphlet).

"The following new Soobas were also present :

1. Ramjus, Brahmin of Jugraon, Loodiana.
2. Lal Singh (no place in particular).
3. Bussawa Singh of Goolcheta.
4. Baba Jowahir Singh of Juktapore, Ferozepore.
5. Hurnam Singh of Jheend.
6. Pahara Singh of Loodiana.
7. Hookma Singh of Umritsar.
8. Sadoo Singh of Loodiana.
9. Sumukh Singh of Puttialla.
10. Gopal Singh (no place in particular).
11. Mussumut Hookmee of Wurrah Umritsar.

"The following residents of Umritsar were also present :

1. Narain Singh.
2. Jowahir Singh.
3. Roor Singh.

"Of the above, No.2 in the first list, Sahib Singh, is acknowledged as his intended successor, and is apparently more listened to than Ram Singh himself. He, Soodh Singh, Nahung Singh, Brahma Singh, and Lukka Singh, are all more or less turbulent and ill-disposed to the restraint of constituted authority. The latter was the only man who misconducted himself during the fair. He abused a Police Sergeant who stopped all in excess of 50 from entering the temple on the 28th. Inspector Ibrahim Khan, however, brought him to his senses at once, and Ram Singh apologized to the sergeant. During the fair only *one* stick was taken away from a Nahung, not another thicker than one's little finger was to be seen. I never have seen a more orderly and obedient crowd, or less crime than during this fair. Ram Singh was pleased with the locality assigned for his encampment, and at having a tank filled for his and his followers' use. With the exception of the Akal Boonga, they were admitted anywhere, and mixed with the crowd on the illumination night in the

most amicable way. Not a *hookha* has been broken, not a *pugree* thrown off, or knocked off a non-Kooka's head; and in no way have they offended other sects.

Ram Singh and his chief men will remain here until the 1st proximo; his followers, in general, have mostly departed.

Memorandum by Colonel McAndrew.

"I was at Umritsur during the Dewallee. The police arrangements made by Captain Menzies were, as they always have been, judicious and successful both in preventing crime and preserving order. The number of people assembled was much less than usual, the reason given was great sickness during season, and the number of people still weak from fever. The cattle fair was far below the average, and the number of horses greatly so, and not nearly equal to the demand; officers from many Irregular Cavalry Corps were present as purchasers, but good remounts were scarce. I had a visit from Ram Singh, who expressed himself thankful to Government for removing the restriction formerly placed on his movements; there was a good deal of anxiety on the part of the people of the town to see Ram Singh, and numbers went to his camp. I enquired from Sirdar Mungul Singh (Ramghurra), Honorary Magistrate and guardian of the temple, and from several other Sikh gentlemen, what they thought of Ram Singh; all stated that they looked on him a well-disposed and inoffensive man, who believed in what he taught, but they did not express such a favourable opinion regarding some of his Mahants or Soobas, particularly of Sahib Singh, who is likely to succeed Ram Singh as Guru. Lukka Singh, mentioned by Captain Menzies, is Ram Singh's aide-de-camp, always about his person, he was formerly a sepoy in the "Sheredil Regiment"



APPENDIX—I.

Translation of report of Fazl Hoosein, Inspector of Police, Hooshiarpore District, dated 20th March 1867, appointed to keep order at the Anundpore Fair, District Hooshiarpore.

SINCE the establishment of the Kooka sect by Ram Singh of Bhainee in the Loodiana District, and agreeably to orders, I have been trying to ascertain Ram Singh's object in establishing this sect.

I find that the religion of the Sikhs and Kookas is one. Both read the "Gurunth" of Baha Nanuk and Gurm Gobind Singh, but there is great animosity between them.

This year at the Anundpore, Hoollee fair, at which Ram Singh was allowed by Government to be present, he brought with him about 8,000 Kookas. He arrived with his followers on the 19th March 1867.

I found that the Nahungs, Akalees, Badees, and Sodees were dissatisfied at Ram Singh's coming to the Anundpore "goordwara" to worship. They were always in the habit of refusing admission to Kookas, and it was their intention not to have admitted them on this occasion. They were, however, admitted, but on the following conditions, to which Ram Singh agreed for himself and followers :

1st—Turbans not to be taken off the head.

2nd—The hair of the head not to be opened.

3rd—Shouting interdicted.

Ram Singh accordingly, with his followers, on the 20th March 1867, visited the Kesgurb and Tek Bahadoor Goordwaras, and worshipped there. He gave as offerings Rs. 25 at each place. But the Poonjarees of the Kesgurb Goordwara did not, as is the custom, pray for him, at which Ram Singh was offended. As, however, Ram Singh was pleased with the conduct of the Poonjarees of the Tek-Bahadoor Goordwara (who did pray for him), he gave them another rupee as a present.

On the same day (20th March 1867), Ram Singh wrote a letter in Goormookhee to the Poonjarees of the Kesgurb

Goordwara, asking them whether they did consider him a Sikh of the Guru, that they did not pray for him; he at the same time said he did not care for their prayers; that a Sikh of the Guru was one who was not proud.

To Ram Singh's letter no written reply was sent, but he was informed verbally of the following differences in their religion, &c., as a reason for the Poonjarees not praying for him:

- 1st.— That he sets himself up as a god.
- 2nd.— That when making a convert, he does not give him Umrut to drink, as is the custom, but whispers a "*Munthur*" in his ear.
- 3rd.— That when he makes a convert, he says to him, 'Junum Guru Hujroo, ur bashce Guru Bhaince¹, whereas the Sikhs say 'Junukm Guru Putua ur bashee Nundpore².
- 4th.— That whereas Sikhs entering a place of worship do not untie their hair, or remove their turbans, Kookas do.
- 5th.— That Kookas, in exciting themselves to such a degree as to be at times insensible, act like Mahomedan faqueers, and cannot be Guru Sikhs.

To this Ram Singh replied that, if they really acted up to the Sikh religion, they would appreciate his doctrine; that they act quite contrary to the 'Grunth' by eating meat, drinking, lying, licentiousness, female infanticide, & c., and that therefore Kookas do not consider them Sikhs. Ram Singh concluded with the remark that Kookas in thinking of God become so excited that they do not think of their hair and turbans as Sikhs do.

There was great enmity between the Nahungs and Kookas, and a body of the former, mustering about 50 strong, intended assaulting the Kookas with clubs on the occasion of their visit to the

1. Translated, this would be "God was born at Hujroo, but lives at Bhaince."

2. This means "God was born at Putna, but lives at Anundpore".

Keshgurbh Goordwara; but this was prevented by the police disarming the Nahungs of their clubs, and preventing them from proceeding towards the Goordwara.

At the fair there were at least 8,000 Kookas, of whom about two-thirds were adult males and one-third women and children.

The following are the men whom Ram Singh has appointed his Soobas or lieutenants, and all of whom, with exception of Jota Singh (No. 12), were present at the fair :

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Mungul Singh of Bishunpoora, a relation of the Puttiala Rajah. | |
| 2. Soodh Singh. | 13. Lukka Singh. |
| 3. Sahib Singh. | 14. Boodh Singh. |
| 4. Kan Singh. | 15. Narain Singh. |
| 5. Jowahir Singh. | 16. Khazan Singh. |
| 6. Hookma Singh. | 17. Hurnam Singh. |
| 7. Hurdit Singh. | 18. Sadho Singh. |
| 8. Molook Singh. | 19. Sumund Singh. |
| 9. Deedar Singh. | 20. Gopal Singh. |
| 10. Ruttun Singh. | 21. Brahma Singh. |
| 11. Surmookh Singh. | 22. Lawba Singh. |
| 12. Jota Singh. | |

I made several unsuccessful attempts to obtain from these men some information as to their family residence. All I could elicit from them was that, since their conversion to Kookaism, they had forgotten their residence, and only knew of Bhainee as such, and of Ram Singh as their Guru.

To me it appears that Kookas are most prevalent in the districts of Umballa, Loodiana, and Ferozepore, and in the Puttiala and Nabha States. They are also, but less numerous, residents of Jullundhur, Hooshiarpore, Umritsur, Lahore, Sealkote, and Goordaspore.

Ram Singh had with him 40 horses for his own use and that

of his Soobas. In all his processions he was preceded with colors flying and drums beating.

After a personal interview with Ram Singh, I am of opinion that he in no way acts in opposition to the British Government; but some of his Soobas (lieutenants) are bad men, who injure his reputation.

Soobas (lieutenants) have been empowered by Ram Singh to repeat the 'Munthur' to persons wishing to become Kookas. Nothing is taken from a man on his conversion to Kookaism, as is done when a man turns Sikh; but, if after conversion, a Kooka makes a present to Ram Singh, he takes it.

Ram Singh from his own house is always feeding and clothing the poor, and teaching good, which accounts for his obtaining so many converts, of various creeds, to Kookaism. During the fair at Anundpore, in two days there were no less than 50 converts.

Of the Sodhees, Pertab Singh, Russowleewala, with his son, Dewa Singh, have both been converted to Kookaism; and Sodhee Narinder Singh, Kuraleewala, with Sodhee Heera Singh, are both about to become Kookas.

From everything I see I am of opinion that the Kooka sect is daily increasing, while the Sikhs are on the decline, which is chiefly attributable to the fact that Kooka converts are put to no expense, whereas converts to Sikhism are. If the 50 men who have been converted to Kookaism during the fair had turned Sikhs, the Nahungs would have benefited at least Rupees 50 : whereas the Kooka converts have been gainers, and the Nahungs losers, by their conversion to Kookaism instead of to Sikhism. Thus the real cause of the animosity of the Nahungs is accounted for.

There is no foundation for the report that Ram Singh repeats a magic 'Munthur' in the new convert's ear, which is never divulged, and has the effect of making the convert insensible. I find the 'Munthur' to be as follows :

*'Sut goor ajis nawaz, tilraka jarung, akla na-anuntee
subawas nayung bhoo puha beer'.*

Every Kooka must repeat this "Munthur," one hundred thousand times, within nine Sundays after his conversion, after which he becomes a perfect Kooka. A new convert has nothing to do but repeat the "Munthur" as above. He is put to no expense whatever, in fact, gets his food from Ram Singh for nothing.

When Nahungs receive converts for Sikhism, they give them long 'Munthurs' to learn off, which the people have begun to dislike. This, coupled with the fact that it costs a Kooka convert nothing, whereas it does a Sikh, is, I believe, the real cause of Ram Singh obtaining so many converts to Kookasim.

Ram Singh bathes himself thrice daily, and at about 2 o'clock every morning takes to reading the "Grunth," which he understands perfectly. He abhors everything wicked; the Kookas therefore think very much of him, and honor him accordingly. They believe him to be a prophet sent by God to establish the Kooka sect, which is to rise on the extinction of the Sikh religion, which they firmly believe is already on the decline. They believe that Ram Singh thinks badly of all Hindoos, as he prays to but one God, while the Hindoos pay to several.

Ram Singh has obtained some converts from among the Mahomedans. All are uneducated low caste men, who are told by Ram Singh and his Soobas that the Mahomedan and Kooka religion are one. There are, however, some Mahomedans who speak well of the Kooka religion.

I know nothing more of the Kooka sect, or of Ram Singh, except that he is preparing a Grunth, which he intends calling the Grunth Akharres¹. The rules and precepts laid down in this book, for the guidance of the Kookas, are at present not known. There is no likelihood of the book being made public just yet; but I have no doubt that, when made public, it will be found to contain nothing but prophecies to be fulfilled, say fifty or a hundred years hence, when of course Ram Singh will be no more."

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1. Based on the wrong information. No such Grunth was prepared by Guru Ram Singh. —editor.

APPENDIX—II.

List showing the names, parentage, and other particulars of the lieutenants of Ram Singh Kooka who attached him during the late Dewallee fair at Umritsur.

1st.—Labh Singh, son of Jecta Singh, cultivator ("Vung"), resident of Nowashahur, District Jullundur, is blind of both eyes, aged 40 years. This man preaches in the Jullundhur and Umritsur Districts.

2nd.—Lukka Singh son of Run Singh, cultivator ("Surai"), resident of Pilloudh, (Maloud-ed.) District Loodiana, but at present residing in Bhainee, aged 28 years. This man preaches to make converts in the Hooshiarpore and Jullundhur Districts.

3rd.—Rajmuss, son of Nanuk Chand, caste Brahmin, resident of Jugraon, District Loodiana, aged 70 years, preaches in the Loodiana District.

4th.—Sahib Singh, son of Dial Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Binwalleepore, District Umritsur, aged 34 years. This man always remains in personal attendance on Ram Singh, and is the chief lieutenant and reputed successor or the Guru.

5th.—Kanh Singh, son of Nutha Singh, caste cultivator ("Boparai"), resident of Chuk in the Mullair Kotla territory, aged 60 years, at present resident at Bilot (Malout-ed.) District, Hooshiarpore. This man is a great Nahung, though a Kooka, and preaches in Hooshiarpore, Umballa, Malwa, and Kohistan.

6th.—Narain Singh, son of Sunt Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Kheyree, District Loodiana, aged 32 years, preaches in Mokutsur and other places in the Ferozepore District.

7th.—Soodh Singh, son of Ram Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Suggree District Lahore, aged 42 years; preaches in Umballa, Malwa, Majha, & c.¹

1. Suba Sudh Singh, son of Jagat Singh, caste Jat, village Durgapore, Bangeh, Jullundur. See serial No. 20, Appendix B. No. 4.—editor.

8th.—Hookam Singh, son of Mohur Singh, caste cultivator ("Manh"), resident of Poonnoo (Pithoo -ed.) in the Nabha territory, aged 25 years; preaches in Loodiana and Majha, &c.

9th.—Pahara Singh, son of Hema, caste cultivator ("Boondheyr"), resident of Pilloudh, (Malodh-ed.) District Loodiana, aged 37 years; preaches in Loodiana, Goojranwalla, &c.

10th.—Jowahir Singh, son of Dhul Singh, caste cultivator ("Sohun"), resident of Boleke, at present residing at Tukhtoopoora, District Ferozepore, age 46 years, preaches at Ferozepore and adjacent places.¹

11th.—Samund Singh, son of Wussawa Singh, caste cultivator ("Sidhoo"), resident of Kholee, District Ferozepore, aged 40 years; preaches in Ferozepore District.

12th.—Aroor Singh, son of Dyal Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Binwaleepore, District Umritsur, aged 40 years; preaches in the Umritsur District.

13th.—Wussawa Singh, son of Khurruck Singh, caste cultivator ("Thong"), resident of Anool, District Kurnaul, aged 50 years; preaches in Kurnaul and Umballa Districts.

14th.—Mussumut Hookmee, daughter of Rutlun Singh, cultivator, resident of village Darya, (Veriah-ed.) District Umritsur, aged 20 years. This woman, in company with Kanh Singh Nahung (No.5); preaches with great success in the Hooshiarpore, Umritsur, and other Districts.

15th.—Jotha Singh, son of Rutra Singh, caste potter, resident of Dehbec, District Sealkote, aged 35 years; preaches in Sealkote and Lahore Districts.

16th.—Gopal Singh, son of Sahib Singh, caste cultivator ("Dhareewal"), resident of Mudhar, in the Puttiala territory, aged 35 years; preaches in Loodiana, &c., and has a shop in Bhainee, in Ram Singh Mahunt's house.

1. In his Defence statement dated 25 April 1872 before J.W. MacNabb, Deputy Commissioner, Suba Jowahir Singh told his village Diloli in Thana Dakam, Tehsil Moga, Ferozepur. —editor.

17th.—Brehma Singh, son of Golab Singh, caste cultivator, resident of Koolana, District Umballa, aged 45 years; preaches in Jullundhur, Goojranwala, Lahore, and Sealkote Districts.

18th.—Khuzan Singh, son of Manee, caste carpenter, resident of Loodiana, District Jullundhur, aged 35 years; preaches in Lahore, Umritsur, & c.

19th.—Surmook Singh, son of Vussawa Singh, caste carpenter, resident of Delho, in the Puttiala territory, aged 30 years; preaches in and about the Puttiala territory.

20th.—Humam Singh, son of Asa Singh, caste cultivator, resident of Mundee, in the Jheend territory, aged 28 years; preaches in the Jheend and Puttiala States.

21st.—Jumeeyut Singh, son of Jhunda Singh, caste cultivator, resident of village Gull, District Sealkote, aged 50 years; preaches in the Sealkote and adjacent Districts.

22nd.—Mulook Singh, cultivator, resident of Bolaywal¹ District Ferozepore, aged 35 years; preaches in and around Ferozepore.

23rd.—Sadhoo Singh, resident of Ghaugur, District Loodiana, caste Oodasee Sadh, aged 32 years; preaches in and about the Loodiana District.

Besides preaching in the districts noted opposite each, these lieutenants are, with the permission of Ram Singh, allowed to preach in many other places.



1. In his Defence Statement dated 23 April 1872 before J.W.MacNabb Malik Singh's village was shown as Phullehwala, Mukatsar. —editor.

APPENDIX—A.

No. 3.

Report by the Inspector General of Police, Punjab, on the conduct of the Kooka sect during the year 1868.

MEMORANDUM.

Dated Central Police Officer, Lahore, the 19th January 1869.

The Inspector General publishes the enclosed copy of a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, reporting on the conduct of the Kooka sect during the year 1868 for the information of police officers.

2. District Superintendents are requested to gather quietly, and report in their confidential diaries, all the useful information they may be able to obtain regarding the Kookas.

No. 10, dated the 19th January 1869.

To—T.H. THORNTON, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab,
Civil Dept.

Police report on the Kooka sect for 1868.

I have the honor to report, for the information of Government, the result of the observation of the Kooka sect the Police during the year 1868.

Decline of Kookaism.

2. With the exception of a statement by the District Superintendent of Goojranwalla, uniform testimony is borne by the papers I have received to the decline of Kookaism.

No destruction of tombs reported during the year.

3. During the year that has passed no cases of the destruction of tombs have been brought to my notice; and I have reason to believe that the frequency of these offences in 1867, and the consequent punishments inflicted on Kookas for their perpetration, contributed in no small degree to the unpopularity of Ram Singh's tenets. I have been told by an intelligent Native gentleman that the circumstances just alluded to create an impression in the minds of

the people that the Kooka teaching must be bad if it led to such results; and a strong prejudice against his doctrines was thus created.

Surveillance over Ram Singh withdrawn in 1866.

4. The strict surveillance which was maintained over Ram Singh was relaxed in 1866, and he was permitted by Government to wander about wherever he wished. The cessation of our interference has removed the exalted importance it gave to Ram Singh. The Natives argued that there must be some truth in the pretensions of the Kooka heresiarch, when a powerful Government like the British adopted stringent measures towards him, and probably our leaving him alone to his own devices just at the time when the newness and interest of his movement were fading caused a greater re-action than would ordinarily have set in.

Ram Singh loses in reputation by mixing with the people.

5. Whilst Ram Singh was in quasi-confinement at Bhaines, there was a charm of mystery and esotery about the man, to which our espionage perhaps added a spice of fascinating persecution. All this was calculated to attract the susceptible. His Soobas preached up their Guru as no mere man, but a very incarnation of the Deity, a co-equal with Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanuk, of sainted memory to every Sikh. They described him in the following lines; which may be roughly translated - "The God whose praise is in the, old poets, this God has appeared in the likeness of Ram Singh."

But as Meer Fuzl Hoosein, Inspector of Police, Honshiarpoor, writes—

Pirs, holy men, are not worthy of worship, but their disciples cause them to be worshipped.

Belief in Ram Singh's supernatural powers shaken by experiment of a convert.

6. Close contact with the much belauded Guru destroyed the illusion of his possessing supernatural powers. The District

Superintendent of Police, Ferozepore (Mr. Turton Smith), relates an amusing instance in which Ram Singh's claims to omniscience were rudely exposed. An enquirer, who had been converted to Kookaism, but who wished to learn more of his new faith and its spiritual head, privately stole some garments belonging to Ram Singh, and hid them. For three days Ram Singh vainly endeavoured to trace his missing property. The eyes of his disciple were opened.

Objects in visiting the sacred temples in Hooshiarpore and Umritsur Districts.

7. One of Ram Singh's objects in wishing liberty to go where he pleased, was to visit the sacred temples at Anundpore, Mokutsur, and Umritsur, where he hoped the guardians of the shrines and the Sikh hierophants would publicly acknowledge him as a Guru, and accord him similiar honor and position with Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanuk. The results of these pilgrimages have grievously disappointed him. It was the old story over again; we had only to let the movement alone, and being of man it came to naught.

Causes of decline of Kookaism.

8. To these causes prejudicing the vitality of the Kookas as a sect, I may add the natural one- "action of time." The thing was getting stale; the fire of enthusiasm was growing cold; and the zeal of propagandists sensibly abating.

In former years, however, intense was the dislike of the orthodox Sikhs to the new heresy; they were unable to vilify it and bring it into disrepute, by pointing the finger of scorn to any degrading effects the Kooka rules of like might have on the morals of its brotherhood. 1868 has seen this altered. Ram Devi, the daughter of Ram Singh, who was held in reputation by the Kooka disciples, committed adultery, and was murdered by her husband¹ for her

1. The name of Guru Ram Singh's daughter was Daya Kaur and not Ram Devi as stated above. Daya Kaur refused to go to her husband's house because he was not keeping the tenets of the Kuka faith. That is why she was murdered by her husband. —editor.

unchastity. The infuriated husband wounded Kan Singh, the Hooshiarpore Sooba, and would have killed Ram Singh if he had been able, as he considered the wrong he had suffered attributable to the head of the sect to which she belonged, regarding her conduct as the natural result of the Kooka teaching. He was hanged for the murder of his wife in the month of July 1868. Chundoo, a female apostle of Kookaism, who had preached largely in the Umritsur District, attended the Dewallee festival at that city in 1867 and then absconded with a Tirkan, named Gunda Singh. She was murdered for her immorality by Jowahir Singh and Gunda Singh. Jowahir Singh was hanged, but Gunda Singh is still at large. These two cases have made the people think lightly of the moral practice of the Kookas, however pure the doctrines they inculcate may be.

Possibility of Ram Singh making an effort to regain the lost place for his sect in public opinion.

9. It is not surprising, after all I have recounted, that respectable people should look with disfavor on the Kookas. Ram Singh's visits are anything but coveted honors, as he comes accompanied by followers, with some twenty led horses; all have to be fed by the Kookas with whom he stays. The present scarcity and high prices have dried up any latent hospitality that may have existed amongst the disciples. All these things have combined to make 1868 an unfortunate year for Ram Singh. But I do not suppose that he will allow his popularity to wane without making an effort to regain the hold he possessed over the minds of the poorer classes. On the contrary, I consider we should maintain our attitude of watchfulness, perhaps less obtrusively than heretofore, as the flame of Kooka fanaticism may rise once and again to greater heights ere it finally dies out. We may confidently look, during 1869, to fresh measures being taken for the restoration of the zeal of the converts, if Ram Singh is able to take them, and if the old man has sufficient energy left to re-organize the society he has created. So far as I can judge, I should imagine that were Ram Singh to die whilst his

sect is in a comatose state, even the energy of Sahib Singh (his supposed successor) would be powerless to restore its unity and zeal; but the result would be quite the reverse were the Kookas to reform, and earn themselves a good name in the opinion of their neighbours prior to their leader's death.



APPENDIX—A

No.4.

Report by the Inspector General of Police, Punjab, on the conduct of the Kooka sect during the year 1869.

—o—

MEMORANDUM.

Dated Central Police Office Lahore, the 14th January 1871.

The Inspector General publishes the enclosed copy of a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, reporting on the conduct of the Kooka sect during the year 1869 for the information of police officers.

No. 7, dated Lahore, the 14th January 1871.

From—LIEUT. COL. G. HUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

To—T. H. THORNTON, Esq., D.C.L., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

Police. Report on the Kooka sect for 1869.

I HAVE the honor to report, for the information of Government, the result of the police observation of the Kooka sect during the year 1869.

Kooka riots in Ferozepore District.

2. The principal incident to be related is the so-called riot in the Ferozepore District. As it gives an insight into the dangers of Kookaism, when the leader is an unscrupulous intriguing man, I give a somewhat full account of the occurrence, partly taken from the notes of the District Superintendent of Police, and partly from the judicial record of the trial.

Origin of the disturbance.

3. Towards the close of February 1869 reports reached Mr. Turtton Smith that Kookas were collecting near Roopana, in the Ferozepore District. It was stated that the Lumberdar of that village had burnt some spinning wheels, a charpoy, and a plough, part of a

cart, & c., and having deserted his home, had proceeded with a body of Kookas in the direction of Tehrajwalla, a village in the Sirsa District. The movements of his party were closely watched by Diwan Baksh, Deputy Inspector of Police, who anticipated disturbances in consequence of its attitude.

Attack on tile Deputy Inspector.

4. Some two days later a report was sent in by Deputy Inspector Diwan Baksh that the Kookas had set upon him for observing their movements. It appears that his sword was damaged and taken from him; his horse was struck with a spear; one Beli Singh either struck Diwan Baksh with an axe or a stick, and Murna Singh threw a spear at him. A constable who accompanied the Deputy Inspector was assaulted; his sword broken and taken from him, and his coat cut through by a blow from the blade. This attempt to deter the police from their duty was made near Kooraywalla. Diwan Baksh stated that the party of Kookas used most seditious language, and proclaimed the Khalsa reign, setting all authority at defiance.

Police proceed to scene of riot.

5. In the absence of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police, accompanied by Mr. Wakefield, Assistant Commissioner, started at once for the scene of disturbance with as large a force of police as could be collected. Some twenty foot police were started off in ekkas, whilst fifteen mounted police accompanied the European officers. Owing to the depth of sand the ekkas had to be abandoned a few miles out of Ferozepore, and the men proceeded on foot.

The party arrived at Mookutsur (34 miles from Ferozepore) at 2 A.M. on the 1st March. The Acting Tehseeidar, Alum Shah, met them there, and told the officers that the Kookas were assembled at Tehrajwalla, and that they refused to surrender. Alum Shah had only a few policemen with him, and had not deemed it prudent to attempt coercion.

Messrs. Wakefield and Smith then pushed on with the mounted police, the footmen following as closely as possible. They were joined by Sodi Man Singh and his brother, who had heard of their approach, and came to offer their assistance.

Arrangements made to restore order.

6. On nearing Terajwalla (about 25 miles distant from Mookutsur) it was deemed advisable to keep the police in the background, and endeavour to arrest the offenders through the instrumentality of the villagers. The feeling of the country people was most loyal, and they assembled with great good will.

Attempt to negotiate.

7. At 2 P.M. the party approached Tehrajwalla. Inspector Kootub Shah and eight policemen, and Alli Moolla, Superintendent of Settlements, were found waiting outside the village. The Inspector had made an attempt through Mullock Singh of Phoolaywalla, a leading Kooka of moderate views, to induce the Kookas to surrender, but Mullock Singh declared he had been entirely superseded in his authority by Mustan Singh of Tehrajwalla. Mullock Singh, however, procured Kootub Shah an interview with Mustan Singh, who demanded the Inspector's horse as "*mazrana*" and ridiculed him for believing the English could assist him. Mustan Singh further advised him to desert his falling Government and throw in his lot with the rising Kooka cause. Alli Moolla's efforts to bring about order had been simply rewarded with showers of bricks. The Kookas presented turbans to the Lumberdars of Tehrajwalla, and requested them to join the movement.

Message sent to Kookas by Assistant Commissioner, and their surrender.

8. Such was the state of affairs on the arrival of Messrs. Smith and Wakefield. Mr. Wakefield despatched Alum Shah and Man Singh to the Kookas to demand their unconditional surrender, and at the same time inform them that two European officers had arrived with a force. The deputation returned in about half an hour bringing with them Mustan Singh and two of his chief followers. Shortly afterwards the rest of the Kookas appeared in a very excited state. At first they refused to recognize any authority but that of Mustan Singh. Mustan Singh's assurance appears to have left him when confronted with the Europeans and the assembled villagers. It was a work of but few minutes to disarm the Kookas, who submitted to be bound together, and thus forty-four of them were taken in custody to the police station of Mulout, in the Sirsa District.

Arrangements previously made by the Kookas.

9. It is noteworthy that 'goor' in large quantities had been distributed by the Kookas; that several brought their families with them, and that a large number of gold and silver ornaments had been collected and placed at Mustan Singh's disposal. Mr. Turton Smith found ornaments to the value of some Rs. 5,000 and there is no doubt he did not succeed in discovering the total collections.

Mustan Singh, leader of the sect.

10. On the 2nd of March the forty- four prisoners were taken to Mookutsur. Mr. Smith here learnt that Mustan Singh acquired his influence over the Kookas by having prophesied the famine, which, luckily for him, actually came to pass. The reverence shown him by the members of his sect seems to have turned Mustan Singh's head, and disgusted with Ram Singh's inaction, he appears to have set on foot this disturbance as the means to accomplish what he evidently considered the object of Kookaism, the restoration of the Khalsa rule. To effect his aim he superseded Mulook Singh, and employed a woman of Jhundwalla, Mullout, to obtain disciples by pretending that the spirit of Daya Kour, Ram Singh's murdered daughter, had entered into her and compelled her to proclaim Mustan Singh as the leader of the Kooka sect. Mustan Singh appears to have given out that Ram Singh was actually dead, and that he had succeeded him.¹

Trial of the prisoners for riotings.

11. The forty-four prisoners were placed on their trial before Mr. Knox, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore, who was instructed by Lieutenant-Colonel Cracroft, the Commissioner of Lahore, with the approval of Government, to try them for rioting, and not for attempting to wage war, and to award only a few severe sentences.

The following is the result:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. Anok Singh of Jhundwalla, Sirsa | Released without trial. |
| 2. Anoop Singh of Bholwalla, Mookutsur | —do— |
| 3. Bahadur Singh of Terajwala, Sirsa | —do— |

1. The whole story was beyond truth. —editor.

4. Bela Singh of Terajwalla, Sirsa Released without trial.
5. Beli Singh of Terajwalla, Sirsa *Struck the Deputy Inspector either with a stick or an axe, sentenced to a fine of Rs. 10, or in default to three month's simple imprisonment.*
6. Bhoop Singh of Thote, Mookutsur Released without trial.
7. Bhugwan Singh of Jhundwalla, Sirsa —do—
8. Boodh Singh —do— —do— —do—
9. Buchuttur Singh of Kcoraiwalla, Struck the Deputy Mookutsur Inspector's horse with a spear, sentenced to six months' imprisonment.
10. Begwan Singh of Sohag, Mookutsur Released without trial.
11. Chunda Singh of Sota, Mookutsur —do—
12. Dhyam Singh of Lubberwalla, Sirsa —do—
13. Dyal Singh of Sundewallah —do—
14. Heera Singh of Phoolwalla, Mookutsur —do—
15. Hurnam Singh of Dohiwalla, Sirsa —do—
16. Hurnam Singh of Oluk, Sirsa *Joined with Surnakh Singh in the assault on Sobe Shah, constable. Broke his sword and cut his coat with the blade. Sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25, or three months imprisonment in default.*
17. Jameyat Singh of Sundewallah Released without trial.

18. Jeeta Singh of Doewalla	Released without trial.
19. Jye Singh of Sota, Mookutsur	—do—
20. Jymul Singh of Koonun, do	—do—
21. Khan Singh Joga, Puttiala	—do—
22. Khazan Singh of Sola, Mookutsur	—do—
23. Kurk Singh	—do—
24. Lall Singh of Hoosunur, Mookutsur	—do—
25. Mah Singh of Lubberwalla, Sirsa	—do—
26. Mann Singh of Sotta, Mookutsur	—do—
27. Mulook Singh of Bholwalla, do.	Held to have been concerned, but not to have taken an active part. Warned and discharged.
28. Munna Singh of Chunnno, Sirsa	Threw an iron-headed spear at the Deputy Inspector. Sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 25, or, in default, three months imprisonment
29. Mustan Singh of Terajwalla, Sirsa	Sentenced to 18 month's rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 50, or six months in default.
30. Narain Singh of Koorainwalla	Released without trial.
31. Nund Singh of Phoolwalla	—do—
32. Nund Singh of Mah Vudr, Mookutsur	—do—
33. Sahib Singh of Kocraiwalla, do.	—do—
34. Sher Singh of Bholwalla, do.	—do—
35. Sobha Singh of Sota, do.	—do—
36. Sohel Singh Oulk, Sirsa.	—do—

37. Soodh Singh of Jagcralla, Puttiala Released without trial.
38. Surmukh Singh of Bholwalla, This man assaulted
Mookutsur constable Sobe Shah with
a stick, striking him on
the head. Fined Rs. 10,
or, in default, three
month's simple
imprisonment.
39. Tara Singh of Fukursur, Released without trial.
Mookutsur
40. Umur Singh of Sundewallah - do -
41. Umur Singh of Goeroosur - do -
42. Utter Singh of Doewalla - do -
43. Wur Singh of Lubbarwalla, Sirsa - do -
44. Wuzeer Singh of Roopana, Mookutsur. - do -

Rewards to Sodī Man Singh and others.

12. Sodī Man Singh was made an Honorary Magistrate in consideration of his services on this occasion, and pecuniary rewards were distributed to the villagers.

Exertion of the Police.

13. The foot police marched 65 miles in thirty hours, and the mounted police performed the same distance in 24 hours with the utmost cheerfulness. Their services have not, I believe, been acknowledged.

Decline of Kookaism in Hooshiarpore.

14. The District Superintendent of Hooshiarpore reports a remarkable decline in the energy of the sect, the cause being the one assigned in my report of last year. Captain Boddom states that no meetings have been held by the Soobas, as usual, for making converts. Since Ram Singh has taken to visiting different parts of the country, the people have had an opportunity of seeing and observing him to the destruction of his repute for sanctity. Indeed, it is currently rumoured that Ram Singh only escaped the fate of his daughter (who was murdered by her husband) by flight, thus proving the absurdity of the Sooba's assertions of his invulnerability. Many Kookas have abandoned the tenets of the sect.

Character of Kookas as to crime.

15. It is a new feature that in the past year Kookas have frequently appeared as defendants in criminal cases. Crime is very heavy at Kukker, which is the Umritsur head quarters. In Ferozepore a Kooka was convicted of murder by poison, and another (Sohail Singh) of cattle theft.

State of Kookaism in Sirsa, Jullundhur, and Umritsur.

16. In Sirsa no fresh converts have been made; but in Jullundhur, notwithstanding several recantations, the Kookas number 137 more than in 1868. The District Superintendent thinks the teaching is more calm, and that the sect will not outlive Ram Singh. This opinion is shared by Captain Menzies, District Superintendent of Umritsur, who remarked that, when Ram Singh visited the Golden Temple during the Dewallbe festival, he was received merely as an ordinary individual, and no reverence whatever was shown him. The sect is said to be dying out, and the Native speak of it as "*thanda*" (cold).

In Loodiana, Lahore, and Sealkote.

17. Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins thinks that Ram Singh has suffered considerably in prestige by his itinerations; but probably the present famine prices render it impossible for the old man to remain at home and feed his numerous visitors. The District Superintendents of Lahore and Sealkote, through whose districts Ram Singh travelled, state that he made very few converts.

Ram Singh's progress through Goordaspore.

18. Ram Singh passed through Goordaspore District with some one hundred and fifty followers; he is said to have made 125 converts. Boodh Singh of Mannawalla, Sealkote, Jota Singh of Sealkote, Mungle Singh, said to be related to the Rajah of Puttiala, and Baba Narier Singh (called Dewan), were his principal attendants.

Kooka regiment for Kashmere.

19. In November reports were received that the Maharajah of Kashmere was raising a Kooka regiment, and that each recruit received a certificate from Ram Singh before setting out for Kashmere.

APPENDIX—A.

No. 5

Report by the Inspector General of Police, Punjab, on the conduct of the Kooka sect during the year 1870.

MEMORANDUM.

Dated Central Police Office, Lahore, the 30th January 1871.

The Inspector General publishes the enclosed copy of a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, reporting on the conduct of the Kooka sect during the year 1870 for the information of police officers.

[Confidential]

No. 12, dated Lahore, the 30th January 1871.

From—LIEUT. COLONEL G. HUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

TO—T. H. THORNTON, ESQ., D.C.I., Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

Police Report on the Kooka sect for 1871.

I have honor to report, for the information of Government, the principal features of interest in the proceedings of the Kooka sect during the year 1870.

2. My last note¹ upon this association closed with the mention of the enlistment of a Kooka regiment for Kashmere. I am now able to give fuller details regarding this battalion.

3. A Deputy Inspector was sent in the end of 1869 to Jamu to learn particulars concerning the composition and interior economy of this corps. He returned in February 1870, and gave, in substance, the following report :

Some six or seven months ago Heera Singh (Umbala District), Tara Singh (of Killa Desa Singh, Umritsur District), Lal Singh (of Puttiala), Chanda Singh (of Umritsur), and about thirty other Kookas,

1. Vide Paragraph 19 of this office No. 7 of 14th January 1871.

went to the Maharajah of Kashmere and asked for service. The Maharajah promised to form them into a regiment if they could collect enough men to constitute one; a residence was assigned them in the lines outside the city of Jamu. Recruiting was commenced, and at the time of the Deputy Inspector's visit one hundred and fifty men had been secured. They were, however, not all present; some had left, it is supposed, for their homes. Our informant counted seventy - one Kookas actually present, and noticed that some of them were old men, and a few quite boys.

Heera Singh was stated to be the Commandant, and it was said he was absent recruiting.

The monthly pay of the rank and file was equivalent to ten Chilki rupees, or one rupee in excess of the salary received by the ordinary troops of His Highness the Maharajah: part of the pay was given in flour.

The men had been drilled, but were not regularly armed. When they went on parade, arms were served out to them; these they gave into store when the manoeuvres were over. No uniform had been issued to them.

The Kookas were discontented, and deserted in considerable numbers. On the whole, the Maharajah did not appear pleased with the experiment.

4. Several other persons were despatched to Kashmere to glean tidings of the state of this regiment. It was ascertained that the head quarters had been removed to Srinagar.

In October we heard that a batch of twenty recruits were on their way, and somewhat later, that the battalion numbered from 200 to 250 strong. The men were armed and drilled. One Ram Singh, said to have been on leave, was mentioned as the Commandant.

5. From the reports received from time to time during the past year it would appear that the popularity of the sect is on the decline. It is true that disciples are still added to the faith, but their number is probably more than counterbalanced by secessions.

6. In order to receive his influence, Ram Singh has determined to send a legate to the Ruler of Nepal. The District Superintendent of Lahore mentions that Bhagwan Singh¹ very recently arrived here from Bhaince, Ram Singh's residence, entrusted by Ram Singh with Rs. 1,100 to purchase a pair of mules and a couple of buffaloes, to be given as "*thayf*" (a Guru's offering to the Maharajah).

7. The story amongst the Kookas is, that the Maharajah wrote to Ram Singh and asked him to send some men for the Nepal regiments. To this Ram Singh is stated to have replied, "I will not yet despatch any Kookas, nor will I come myself, but I send this present."

8. The year has passed without any disturbances on the part of the Kookas, and none of the peculiar offences formerly committed by the sect appear to have been perpetrated by its members.

9. With the freshness of zeal much of the austere character of the reform has departed. The desire for peculiarity seems to have merged into the ambition to be popular. Captain Tait writes that the distinguishing pugree is no longer worn, and the woollen necklace is concealed beneath the clothes of the wearer.

10. Mr. O'Connor mentions that his conversations with orthodox Sikhs lead him to suppose that much of the hostility formerly existing between them and the Kookas has passed away. He believes that the Sikhs would be only too glad to unite with the Kookas did they see any prospect of the restoration of Khalsa rule. The feeling is embodied in this saying: "After all they are Sikhs, perhaps a little mistaken in their ideas of religion. Ram Singh may be a Guru, but up to the present time he has shown none of the peculiar characteristics of one as did Teg' Bahadur, and Guru Gobind."

11. Lieutenant Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector General of Lahore Circle, reports that one of the warmest promoters of the Kooka faith is Dewan Buta Singh, the proprietor of the Aftab-Punjab Press in the Lahore city². The Mahants and Soobas of the sect are constantly with him, and he is consulted in all matters of importance.

1. Village Mehrana, Distt. Amritsar. —editor.

2. Son of Gurdial Singh, 'Kukas of Note in The Punjab', page 96. —editor.

From this man's antecedents, his adherence to the tenets of this creed from religious motives may well be doubted. Dewan Buta Singh was detected, during the early days of British rule in the Punjab, intriguing with the ex-Ranee Chand Kaur, and passed seven years in the Agra Fort¹ as a punishment for his misconduct. He does not bear the character of a well-wisher to the English Government.

12. The novel phase of Kookaism during the past year is the enlistment of its disciples in the forces of Native Princes in alliance with Her Majesty, that is, enlistment in Kashmere, and rumoured advances towards this end from the Maharajah of Nepal.

13. The same attitude of quiet observation will be maintained with regard to these enlistments. It is perhaps to be regarded that there is no legislation such as seems to be contemplated by Section 33 of the Foreign Enlistment Act; and that the slight protection afforded by Section 12 of 59 Geo. III., Chapter 69, is abandoned, instead of being made applicable to all foreign Asiatic States, whether at peace or at war with their neighbours, as it is obviously not to the advantage of any Government that a religious leader should possess the opportunity of passing his disciples through the ranks of regiments, from which they can desert whenever their spiritual guide may consider their temporal aid necessary to forward his political aims.

14. Provided the service be short, a large number of Kookas may be drilled and disciplined to a certain extent in foreign armies without any of the risks which accompany such proceedings in British territory, and it is certain they remove themselves, by enlisting under Native Princes, very effectually from any close espionage.



1. Allahabad Fort. —editor.

Appendix B.

No. 1.

POLICE DEPARTMENT, LUDHIANA CIRCLE, 1872.

Particulars regarding the Kooka leaders who were lately deported to Allahabad.

1	2	3	4			7	8	9	10	11
			Percentage	Residence							Circle or Division usually in charge or as a Socha
Name	Village	Town		District	Profession or calling	Character and influence as Socha	Name of their instructors.	General Remarks		
1.	Sahib Singh.	son of Dyal Singh.	Bagwanpore	Tarn-Tarn	Udhampur.	He resided chiefly at Chitose with Ram Singh, but visited the villages in the neighbourhood occasionally.	His father was a carpenter, and he earned his living by it.	Is a man of the greatest influence with the Kookas. He was Guroo Ram Singh's right-hand man, his prime minister, and by a great many persons was believed to have been nominated to succeed Ram Singh as Guroo.	At the age of 20 Sahib Singh became a disciple of Uram Dass, Nanga Singh of Morwal, Zillat Pervezpur, and for seven years he lived a vagrant life. In 1861 (when he was 27 years of age), he joined Ram Singh and became a Kooka. Ram Singh elated took a fancy to him, or else came under the influence of his stronger will, and rendered him aid. He caused him to reside with him at Chitose, and in 1867 made him a Socha, and appointed him to be a kind of chief counsellor, giving him great influence and authority over sect. Sahib Singh bears an irreconcilable enmity to him. He is a hot-tempered man and is sexual rest. His present age is 38.	Last year (1871), he was one of a delegation which went to Nepal with presents for the Rajah.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
2.	Ram Singh	Son of Dyal Singh	Do	Do	Do	The city Umrhar	Owner of	It reported to me as possessing consider- able influence in Umrhar.	Ram Singh is Sahb Singh's brother, he is married man with a family, keeps a shop in Umrhar. Was made a Sooby in 1861. Present age about 46.	
3.	Lakha Singh	Son of Jhan Singh Ji	Malwa	Do	Do	Resided generally with Ram Singh at Bhalswar and Lodhara Districts, as well as in Candia and Lodhara.	Cultivator	A man of quite equal influence as a Sooby with Sahb Singh (No. 1). Lived with Ram Singh and had the control of household. Is perhaps a more intriguing man than Sahb Singh and it only needs to see and converse with him for a short time to be con- vinced of his cool temper and bearing.	Lakha Singh was formerly a Sooby in the 2nd Coy. Regiment was discharged in 1862 for some lack for a short time after this he worked as a cultivator in Mal- wa, Lodhara District, but in the same year (1862) he became a follower of Ram Singh and went to Jullandhar. One with hand have not certain information as to the year in which he was taken Sooby. His present age is about 35.	District Superin- tendant of Umrhar, Major Street, reports that lately Lakha Singh dis- obeyed the order of the Deputy Commis- sioner of Jullandhar, forbidding him to go to Bhalswar. A guard had to be sent after him to stop him.
4.	Kash Singh (Nahar)	Son of Nana Singh Ji, of Kot Aherni.	Chote Mogera	Malwa Kotla	Malwa Kotla	Resided generally with Ram Singh at Bhalswar and Lodhara Districts, as well as in Candia and Lodhara.	Cultivator	Said to possess much influence in the district referred to (Candia). In a Nangal, (Candia), where, would naturally be possessed of consider- able power and authority.	Kash Singh was formerly a Sooby in the 2nd Company of the 10th Regiment of Foot (Nahar Singh) Regiment, in which reg- iment Ram Singh, Geroon was also present soldier. In 1841 this regiment was at Jhansi, in the Bawal Pindia District, and Ram Singh and Kash Singh both be- came chobdar of Bawal Singh, Chobdar of Jhansi. After the de- fe	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
									<p>of Meorian, Ram Singh took his discharge and came to Bhainsi, in Lodiana District. Kash Singh left the regiment after the battle of Gajrat and took up his residence at Malotia, Thanesar. He built a water mill, but shortly after, making this over to his son, he left his home and went to Bhainsi to Ram Singh, and was made a scribe, and began to move about making converts. Last year (1871) Kash Singh, in company with Soh's Singh (No. 1 of this list), Gollab Singh, a disciple of Jani (?), Amar Singh and Thanesar Singh who were both concerned in the murder of the Maron's Charwal a few years ago, Towah Singh, of Meorian, Zilshi, Jalandhar, and Bura Singh, of —, went on a mission from Fara Singh to the Rajah of Nepal, with a present of two mules and two buffaloes. (Kash Singh, of Ginnahgarh, Thanesar A. J. is the Unitarian District, is a convert to the Rajah of Nepal).</p> <p>Kash Singh is 50 years of age; he is the eldest disciple of Ram Singh, and the fact of his having</p>	

1. Gaur Ram Singh joined the army at Haridwar. Forcibly before the battle of Meorian. — editor.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
5.	Badrana Singh of Biana Singh.	Son of Gokab Singh, Jai.	Dunipore	Thaneor.	Umbela.	Jullundur Sialkote, and Gaj- rawalla District.	Farmer	He much resented in the district in which he acts as a propo- gandist, and has great influence among the Kookas.	been made a Kooka at the same time as Ram Singh, and being a great friend of the Geroson, given him immense influence. At the age of 23 years he became a disciple of Ranjan Das, an Oaked Sadi. Made his wife over to his brother, Jaso, and giving his horse and home, became a vagrant. In 1851, he became a disciple of Ram Singh and was made a sarkha and appointed to the districts named in Column 7. He then established a residence at Village Murañ, near Pathour Jullundur District, and speaks at Village Koi, in the Sialkote District. His present age is 40 years. Jowahir Singh has always accom- panied the world "har-o-dinam". His father died when he was five years old. His mother then moved from Lopon to her father's house in Doyal Shah, Thaneor Bagpore District. At once as he had arrived at years of discretion, Jowahir Singh became a disciple of Sardar Singh Sadi of his grand- father's village, and lived with him. The Sadi died in 1849, and Jowahir Singh then went to Kemaer and stayed there four years. Returning to	
6.	Jowahir Singh	Son of Dai Singh, Jai	Dunipore		Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Proves immense influence with Kookas. Ram Singh himself always showed marked respect and con- sideration to Jowahir Singh, and used to bow to him. He is good man of good character, quiet and well believed. Was named as successor to Ram Singh. Has been a very zealous propa- gandist and very successful.		

(The Sadi's house, now built in Kailash in the Year
1851, was the place of the Sadi's house, now the house
named in Column 4, Faropore.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
7.	Mullock Singh	Son of Sukhan Singh, Jt	Sholawala	Mulsoor.	Ditto	Ferozepore Dist. Sindh District.	Center of estate.	The whole Kooka family respect and trust him. He has been a successful propagandist, though it is said he himself did not make converts, but brought recruits to Ram Singh.	the Purgan in 1861, he heard the praises of Ram Singh and went to Finance where he became a disciple of Ram Singh. In 1866 he was made a sooka and was deputed to the Ferozepore District. Present age 52.	
8.	Man Singh...	Son of Mulshan Singh	Sydeh	Dagpurwara...	Ditto	Ferozepore District.	Cultivator	Is not a sooka. Was a sort of lieutenant to Kowahir Singh, and was allowed to make recruits.	Remains a follower some years ago, and turned Kooka. By permission of Ram Singh he made converts. Present age about 42	
9.	Hakam Singh...	Son of Mussur Singh Jt.	Blawan.		Nahla & Pothia.	Ditto...	Ditto...	Was made a sooka in 1861 apparently of no particular note.	Three years ago he was reported to Ram Singh for some breach of morality and had his powers taken from him. Subsequently he was again made a sooka. Age about 35.	
10.	Fabara Singh	Son of Hema Jt	Katowal (or Khatwal).	Dellor.	Loodiana	Loodiana	Paqueer	Was made a sooka in 1868. Has considerable influence with Kookas.	Was formerly a Nimula Salka, a disciple of Sudeh Singh of Madoch. Is a vaiprast.	

UMBALA,

26th March 1872

A.H. BANFELT, Major,

Deputy Inspector General of Police, Umballa Circle.

APPENDIX—B

No. 2.

[Confidential.]

No. 128, dated the 3rd April 1872.

Memo From—FORSYTH, ESQ., C.B., Commissioner, Umballa Division.

To—LIEUT.-COL., G. HUTCHINSON, Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

In reply to his docket No. 106, dated 14th March, begs to forward English translation of statements made by Extra Assistant Commissioner, Narain Singh, giving the antecedents of the 11 Kooka Soobas deported to Allahabad.

Statement of Narain Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, based on information obtained from Sukhoo Lumherdar, and Bhugwanah Chowkeedar of Bhainee, and Dul Singh Kooka of Chhineewal, regarding the following Soobas of the Kooka sect.

1. — *Lukka Singh, Sooba, Zemindar of Malodh, Zillah Loodiana.*—He always went about with Ram Singh. In March last (1871), at village Khota, Zillah Ferozepore, on the Holi fair,¹ it is said, he ordered the Kookas to kill the butchers. Again in May 1871, on the occasion of the Dam Dama fair at Talwandi, Puttiala territory, Lukka Singh repeated the above order. In June 1871, on the occasion of Nimani Ekadshee fair by Kookas, Lukka Singh induced the Kookas to kill the butchers. He had a quarrel with Gyani Singh on account of Mussamat Sobhi. At this fair Lukka Singh boasted of his followers, who, he said, were the first to commit the butcher murders. Lukka Singh was at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th January 1872, when an attack was made on Malodh and Kotla; he however soon after slipped away to Loodiana. Six or seven years ago, he was arrested in the Gujranwalla District for demolishing tombs, & c. He was in the Sher Dil Regiment at first. Twelve years ago turned a Kooka,

1. Hoola Festival of 1871.—editor.

and was made a sooba after two years. He remained at Bhainee with Ram Singh, and visited people in the Doab. He has no home, and goes from place to place, inducing people to Kookaism.

He was at the Bhainee fair in January, and visited the mustana gang, promising to follow them. This was deposed to in the Malodh case.

When Dal Singh, Mungal Singh, and Dewan Singh, & c. came to Ram Singh to take permission to slay the Raikote butchers, Lukka Singh was also present there, and was fully aware of the circumstances.

Harnam Singh and Goormukh Singh depose that Lukka Singh was fully aware of the Umritsur butcher case.

II.—*Sahab Singh, Sooba of Banwalipur, Illaqua Umritsur*.—He visited places in Sealkote and Gurdaspur Districts, and persuaded people to become Kookas. His own brother, Aroor Singh, a year ago, was sent by Ram Singh to Nepal, with two she-buffaloes and a he-buffaloe as presents to the Rajah, who in return, gave jewels, shawals, and a pony for Ram Singh.¹

Sahib Singh was intimate with Mussamut Kanho, wife of Ghamandah Singh, Lumberdar. He went to Nepal to induce the Rajah and the men in his army to embrace the Kooka faith. The sooba had no home, and wandered about converting people to Kookaism. He was mentioned by Gyani Singh as being an active sooba.

When Dal Singh, Mungal Singh, and Dewan Singh, & c. came to Ram Singh to take permission to slay the Raikote butchers, Sahab Singh was also present there, and was fully aware of the circumstances.

He was present with Ram Singh at the following fairs,—Khota, Lohgurih, Dam Dama and the Lohri fair on the 11th and 12th January 1872.

1. Incorrect statement. Suha Sahib Singh, and not Roor Singh, was sent to Nepal with presents by Guru Ram Singh.—editor.

Dal Singh deposes that Ram Singh often said that Saheb Singh and Kanh Singh were as if part of his body.

Mungul Singh and Goormukh Singh depose to having seen Saheb Singh with Ram Singh at Bhainee, where they had to gone to take permission to slay the Raikote butchers.

III.—*Kanh Singh, Sooba of Chak Bhaqua Kotla, Zemindar*.—He was originally in the army of Maharajah Runjeet Singh. Twenty seven years ago turned a Kooka, and was made sooba three year afterwards.¹ He chiefly visited the Hoshiarpore District (Anandpore, & c.), and added a great number to his faith. He has intimacy with Mussamut Hukmi, is a courageous man. Last year went to Nepal with some cattle as presents to the Rajah, being sent by Ram Singh; remained there for two or three months, and then returned with shawls, & c., from the Rajah to Ram Singh. Soobas have divisions under them. This person has Hooshiarpore and Mullair Kotla. He always accompanied Ram Singh on the occasions of Kooka gatherings. On the 11th and 12th January 1872, at the Lohri fair, was present at Bhainee, where he was arrested. He is homeless.

He is a Nihang Sikh, and is mentioned by Gyani Singh in his deposition.

Last year he was present with Ram Singh at the Khota,² Lohgurih, and Dam Dama fairs.

Kanh Singh, in Sikh rule, went about with Naina Singh, Nihang, making, disturbances.

Dal Singh deposes that Ram Singh often said that Sahib Singh and Kanh Singh were as if part of his body. This Kanh Singh, Dal Singh says, with 10 Kookas, went to Puttiala in order to proceed to Delhi in disguise of faqueers, and create disturbances there. They got the "tumbas" (wooden vessels carried by faqueers) and were going to get their clothes dyed, when the news of the apprehension of Kookas in Raikote murder case reached them, and they returned to Bhainee.

1. Regarding Suba Kahn Singh refer to his own statement dated 25 April 1872 before D.C., Macnabb.—editor.

2. Hola Mela of 1871 A.D. —editor.

Mungal Singh deposes that when they came to Ram Singh to take his permission for the butcher murders, Kanh Singh was present with Ram Singh.

IV.—Jowahir Singh, Sooba of Belaspore, Illaqua Ferozepore: He was Nimnala Sadh and turned a Kooka 15 years ago. A year after was made sooba. Ram Singh placed much trust in him. He was with Ram Singh in March last at the Khota and Holi fairs. He visited the Ferozepore District and converted people to Kookaism. For the last year or two he has remained at Bhainee. He was arrested at Bhainee on the Lohri fair. He had a quarrel with Heera Singh of Sukroundi.

At the Khota fair, held in March 1871, there were about 6,000 Kookas present, and this was the foundation of the whole. Ram Singh used to pay him marked respect, and it was supposed that this man would succeed at his death.

When Dal Singh, Mungal Singh, and Dewan Singh came to take permission from Ram Singh to slay the Raikote butchers, Jowahir Singh was present, and fully knew the whole affair. These men put up in the house of Jowahir Singh.

Gyani Singh (hanged) deposed that Jowahir Singh had given orders not to let out the number of Kookas in regiments.

V.—Pahara Singh, Sooba of Malodh, Zillah Loodiana— Turned a Kooka 13 years ago, was made sooba nine years ago. Was at first in service of Sirdar Mith Singh of Malodh. He visited the Loodiana District to spread Kookaism. He always accompanied Ram Singh when on the move. Went with him to Khota and Lohgurh fairs. At the Lohri fair he was at Bhainee where he was arrested. A year ago at village Rurka, Illaqua Dehlon, it was through his evil influence that Kookas quarrelled with zemindars who were accused of smoking hooka. The matter was not brought to court. He is homeless and persuades people to become Kookas.

Bassawah Singh deposed that he and Pahara Singh came to Ram Singh to get his permission to slay the Umritsur butchers. Pahara Singh sat near Ram Singh and told him that Jhanda Singh

and Mehr Singh at Umritsur had arranged for the murder of butchers of that place; Ram Singh said very good.

VI.—Hookma Singh, Sooba of Pittokee, Zillah Nabha.—Seventeen years ago became a Kooka; six years afterwards was made a sooba. He is related to Mungal Singh, Mastan Singh, and Goormukh Singh, connected in the Raikote butcher case. He is a zealous leader of the tribe. He always accompanied Ram Singh. Was present in the fairs. He was arrested at Bhainee in the Lohri fair. He could have prevented the Kookas from making disturbances at Malodh and Kotla. He held fairs and made gatherings. Concluded marriages between Kookas. He has no home.

Harnam Singh deposes that at the Khota fair there was a great row among Kookas.

VII.—Mallook Singh, Zemindar of Bhuler, Illaqua Muktsur, Zillah Ferozepore.—He was Oodasee sadh, and turned a Kooka 15 years ago; acquired the post of a sooba nine years ago. Five years ago he had a dispute with the Deputy Inspector of Muktsur. There were other Kookas with him. Jowahir Singh and Sahib Singh Soobas went to Ferozepore to get him off. The Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore made Mallook Singh over to them. He visited the Sirsa and Ferozepore Districts. Was present in the Khota and Lohgur fairs. Two years ago Kookas assembled at Bholawala; they had collected their property in one place, and dined at one place. The Rajah of Faredkot dispersed them. Kanh Singh was fined 200 rupees and the property confiscated. This man was the leader of that party. He was present at Bhainee on the Lohri fair, but afterwards went to Ruper canal shops, where he was arrested. He is homeless, and his occupation is to persuade people to Kookaism.

*VIII.—Burmah Singh, Sooba, of Darriapoor, Putilala Terrilory.*¹ Turned a Kooka 14 years ago, was made a sooba 12 years ago. He was Oodasee faqueer. Ram Singh has a great trust

1. a) Darriapoor in Kythal—Defence Statement to D.C. MacNabb.

b) Darriapoor in Thanessur, Umbala,—Appendix B-1, -editor.

in him. He visits Ferozepore, Hoshiarpore, and Jullundhur Districts. He holds fairs, makes fire offerings, & c. He is a clever person. He was at Bhaince on the 11th and 12th January 1872, and was arrested there. He is a well noted sooba. Has no home.

He planned the attacks on Malodh and Kotla. On the occasion of fairs and other Kooka gatherings, he persuaded them to rise, and assured them that he would assist them in supplying men from Cashmere and beyond the hills. Three years ago, he went to Cabul, and remained there a year; converted many to Kookaism. He also visited the Wahabee tribe in the frontier. In the hills, on the other side of Cashmere, he appointed a sooba.

In Sumbut 1920, nine years ago, he went to Huzron with Ram Singh. They were however ordered back owing to a quarrel with the Mahomedans.¹ In the same year, he came to Umritsur with Ram Singh.

IX—Roor Singh, Carpenter, Sooba, of Banwalepore— Turned a Kooka 14 years ago, was made a sooba a year after his conversion. He is own brother to Sahib Singh. He is leader of all the Kookas in Umritsur District. He was an accomplice in the Umritsur butcher case. Lehna Singh, Kooka, confirms this fact, but in the absence of legal proof he was not convicted. He was present at Bhaince on the 11th and 12th January at Lohri fair. On 16th January 1872, Roor Singh with 15 other Kookas went to Umritsur by rail, but was arrested at that place. He gathers Kookas at Umritsur, and under pretences of fire offerings, plan matters. He has no home.²

Harnam Singh deposes that Roor Singh was aware beforehand of the Umritsur butcher murders.

1. Wrong statement. Guru Ram Singh went towards Hazroo in January 1863 as he heard the news of death of Guru Balak Singh and he met at Wazirabad Bhai Manna Singh there coming with the 'ashes' of the Guru. From thence Guru Ram Singh returned back. A quarrel with the Mohammdans was a baseless story. —editor.

2. Roor Singh was a family man and lived at Amritsar. Refer to D.C. Macnabb's summary evidence and his own defence statement dated of 24 April, 1872.—editor.

X—Man Singh, Sooba of Saido, Puttiala territory.—Became Kooka 12 years ago, and was made Sooba 11 years ago. He goes from place to place converting people to Kookaism. He was seen present at every fair. Was arrested at Ferozepore. He is also homeless¹. Lumberdar Sukhoo, and Bhugwanah Chowkeedar of Bhainee, state that Man Singh was present at Bhainee at the Lohri fair on 11th and 12th January. Took part in the counsel to attack Malodh and Kotla. On 13th January 1872 he left Bhainee at the head of a party of 100 Kookas who proceeded to take the Fort at Bhattindah, Puttiala territory, but they dispersed on hearing the blowing away from guns of Kookas who were concerned in the Kotla attack. Man Singh fled to Ferozepore, where he was arrested.

He was present at the dispute of Malook Singh with the Deputy Inspector of Muksur five years ago.

XI.—Sirdar Mungal Singh, Sooba² of Bishunpura, relative of His Highness the Maharajah of Puttiala.—

He is a jagirdar, and related to His Highness the Maharaja of Puttiala. He is Ram Singh's prime minister. Often went to Bhainee armed, and held conversation with Ram Singh apart. Provided Ram Singh with money and jewels. He persuaded others to become Kookas. In 1864, for consultations, & c., with Ram Singh, he was sent to Dhoulpur State, where he made away with some valuable jewels belonging to the Rance Sahiba. It is said they were given by him to Ram Singh. For this offence he was confined in Puttiala, but being a relative of the Maharaja he was released. He fed Kookas and others at his own expense, for which purpose he has a Langar. He was arrested at Puttiala. Ram Singh always followed his advice. Full particulars will be found in the Maharajah's report on the conduct of this person.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Commissioner, Umballa Division.

1. He was a cultivator and had a family, a wife and six children. Man Singh was not a Suba but a 'naamdnewala'.—editor.

2. Not Suba but a Jagirdar of Bishunpura and Raipur. —editor.

APPENDIX—B.

No. 3

DEPOSITIONS.

1. *Bhola Singh*.—I swear by the Durbar Sahib I will speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. My name is Bhola Singh, caste, Jat Sikh, father's name, Bhugala, resident of village Kuttani Kullan, Thannah Saniwall, District Loodiana, age 54 or 55 years. I am personally acquainted with Sahib Singh 1, Roer Singh 2, Lukka Singh 3, Kanh Singh 4, Burmah Singh 5, Jowahir Singh 6, Mallook Singh 7, Man Singh 8, Hookma Singh 9, Pahara Singh 10, and Sirdar Mungal Singh 11. These have been known to me for the last eleven years. I know them to be leading Kooka soobas or lieutenants appointed by Ram Singh, of Bhainee, the originator of the Kooka sect. They were notorious as leaders and propagandists of the Kooka sect. Know them by sight and name. It is generally known, and I speak from personal knowledge also, that Ram Singh and these soobas, who are now in custody, preached sedition against the British Government. They openly told people that Ram Singh and his Kookas, will very shortly govern the country extending from Calcutta to Ghazni. They promised high offices and Jagirs to these embracing Kookaism now, and threatened severe punishment to those who refuse to become Kookas: that if the present opportunity is not taken advantage of now, hereafter if they wish it, they will not be permitted to join the Kookas; their villages will be destroyed, and heavy land taxes imposed on them. In Sumbut 1917, Mungal Singh, a relative of the Maharaja of Puttiala, turned Kooka. Since then Ram Singh's fame rapidly increased. Ram Singh used to hold regular durbars at which his eleven lieutenants were invariably present. At these meetings the number of Kookas were calculated, and as to the time of rising against the Government was freely discussed. Every year their numbers increased, as people were assured Kookas will get the raj next year in such a month, and so on; they continued preaching from year to year. Ram Singh and his lieutenants frequently invited me to turn Kooka, urging that if I refuse hereafter will regret it when the raj will pass

to Ram Singh and his soobas. Their teachings exercised great influence on the minds of people. Even women were inspired with desire of participating in a general rising against the British Government. The influence of these soobas is dangerous to the peace of the country, and if now released they will create serious disturbances. The Malodh and Mallair Kotla affairs originated with them under the direction of their Guroo Ram Singh. From time to time I have given notice of Kooka movements and doings to the British authorities in Loodiana. There is no cause for enmity between Ram Singh and myself or with his soobas. On the contrary, I have been on terms of freindship with them. At this moment, Kookas are looking forward to the release of Ram Singh and his soobas, and to the speedy establishment of Ram Singh Government. Kookas declare Ram Singh has voluntarily submitted to his confinement, and that all "outars" have been similarly persecuted. They assert that on Mungul Singh's release all the other soobas will be released, and the Kooka raj will then follow.

2. *Sookooh Singh*.—I swear by 'Gungajee' I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. My name is Sookooh Singh, caste Hindoo Jat, lumburdar of village Bhainee, Thannah Saniwall, District Loodiana; father's name, Jowri, age 55 or 56 years. I know Ram Singh, the Kooka Guroo. He belongs to my village. As children we played and tended cattle together. I joined the Kooka sect to watch their movements, and am intimately acquainted with their doings. I know Ram Singh's eleven soobas who are now in custody. I am personally acquainted with them.

Sahib Singh No.1, resident of village Burmalipoor, District Umritsur, constantly in attendance on Ram Singh, and was his acknowledged successor. Roor Singh No.2 is brother of Sahib Singh No.1, and resided in Umritsur. Lukka Singh No.3, resident of Malodh, Loodiana District, about 16 miles from Bhainee, held the office of wakil for Ram Singh and attended British courts on his behalf. Kanh Singh No.4, resident of Chuck, Illaqua Mullair-Kotla, preached in the Umballa and Hill Districts. Hukmi, a female Soobee, accompanied him. Burmah Singh No.5 resident of Gill, District Gurgaon, visited Cabul and the Akkoond Sahib. Made several

converts in Afghanistan. Jowahir Singh No.6, resident of Lapon¹, District Ferozepore, lived in Bhainee, and his duty was to circulate the orders of Ram Singh and his council amongst Kookas. Mallook Singh No.7, resident of Phoolawalla, Thannah Muktsur, District Ferozepore, for six months prior to his arrest, lived in Bhainee. He used to preach and make converts. Hookma Singh No.8, resident of village Pethoki, illaqua Nabha, but lived in Bhainee. Made converts. His brother and two nephews were hanged for murdering Raikote Butchers. Man Singh No.9 belongs to the Ferozepore District, used to go about with Mallook Singh No.7. Pahara Singh No.10, of Malodh, Loodiana District, preached and made converts. Sirdar Mungal Singh No.11, resident of Bishenpore, a relative of the Maharajah of Puttiala, has landed property in village Raipore. Preached and made converts, undertook to supply any quantity of arms, and would have done so in the late disturbance, but previously he was placed under restraint by the Puttiala authorities.

These men were notorious as soobas and propagandists of the Kooka faith. They openly preached sedition against the English Government, and increased their converts by giving out that Ram Singh will shortly become king. Periodical durbars presided by Ram Singh and attended by his soobas were held in Bhainee. I attended several meetings. They freely discussed the propriety of rising against the British Government. On these occasions they calculated their Kookas by hundreds of thousands. One plan was that as soon as Kookas take up arms against the Government, the Russians will invade the country, the Kookas would then retire to the hills. In the meantime the English and Russians will destroy each other. At the end the victorious party will be greatly weakened and fall an easy prey to Kookas, and thus the Government will fall into their hands. From my personal knowledge of these soobas I know them to be troublesome and

1. In his defence statement dated 25 April 1872, Jowahir Singh's native village was shown as 'Diloli', Tehsil Moga. —editor.

ambitious. They are anxiously looking forward to their ruling the country, and if released from custody which is anticipated by Kookas through supernatural agency, very serious disturbances will take place. Sirdar Mungul Singh is the most ambitious. Ram Singh has promised to give him Puttiala and Nabha as soon as the raj comes into the Gooroo's hand.

Ram Singh and his lieutenants urged all Kookas to sell their land and property to people who are not Kookas, and make over the proceeds to Ram Singh, who, on shortly getting the raj, will forcibly recover all from the purchasers and restore them to the original owners. Many acted on this advice, believing every thing to be true. There is no enmity between me and Ram Singh or with his soobas. I never had any civil or criminal action with any of them. There is no family feud.

3. *Dewa Singh*.—I swear by the Durbar Sahib I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. My name is Dewa Singh, caste Jat Sikh, father's name, Sammund Singh, age 30 years, resident of village Kuttani Kullan. Thannah Saniwall, District Loodiana. My village is about 1¼ mile from Bhainee. I know Ram Singh, the Kooka Gooroo, and personally I am acquainted with five or six soobas. I have seen all his soobas in Bhainee; but I am well acquainted with Sahib Singh No. 1, Lukka Singh No. 3, Kanh Singh No. 4, and Sirdar Mungul Singh No. 11. The rest are slightly known to me having met them on two or three occasions. I know by reports and from personal knowledge that Ram Singh's 11 lieutenants now in custody were notorious Soobas and preachers. They undertook long journeys for the purpose of making converts. They invited people to embrace the Kooka faith and exercised a deal of influence by telling them that very shortly Kookas will rule the country from Calcutta to Ghazni; that several kings had petitioned Ram Singh to be allowed to pay their respects to him. They pointed out that all Kookas will have great advantages, whilst those who refuse to embrace this faith will not be admitted hereafter and will be treated as enemies and severely punished when the Kooka raj is established. They

constantly preached sedition against the British Government, and frequently consulted at their durbars concerning the proper time they ought to rise against the English Government. A large number of Kookas sold their lands and property and paid the proceeds to Ram Singh at the suggestion of his soobas. They acted thus because they were assured by the soobas that the raj will soon fall into the hands of Ram Singh, and their property will be taken from purchasers and restored to them. All these soobas are very troublesome. The Malodh and Mallair Kotla business originated with them. The number of Kookas, as represented by Ram Singh's soobas, is 4,30,500 men.

4. *Pertap Singh*.—I swear by the Durtar Sahib, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. My name is Pertap Singh, caste Jat Sikh, father's name Doola Singh, resident of Jundiala, Thannah Saniwal, District Ludiana age 35 years. Bhainee, Ram Singh's village, is three koss from my village. I know Ram Singh and his 11 soobas now in custody. They urged people to join the Kooka faith and frightened them with persecution, telling them that very shortly Kookas will get the raj. They frequently debated whether it was time to rise or not against the English Government, and calculated their numbers to the extent of three or four hundred thousand men. These soobas exercised great influence, and urged rebellion against the British Government. They instigated the Malodh and Mallair Kotla disturbances. Their influence is so great that they induced several Kookas to sell their landed property, &c., to non-Kookas and pay the proceeds into a fund called "Poonn-Kahtha", kept up by Ram Singh. In return they were promised jagirs and restoration of their property on the raj falling into the hands of Kookas, - an event which they were given to understand would shortly take place.

5. *Nehal Singh*.—I swear by "Permasher" and also by Sultan Serwar, better known as Negaha, that I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. My name is Nehal Singh, caste, Jat Sikh, father's name Jahba Singh, age 36 or 37 years, resident of village Bohlapore, Thannah Saniwall, District

Loodiana. I know Ram Singh and his 11 soobas, who are now in custody. These soobas were notorious leaders and propagandists. They openly preached sedition against the British Government; invited people to embrace the Kooka faith, promising them great advantages on the raj passing to the Kookas, which was to take place very soon. They threatened those who refuse with severe punishment and persecution, saying their villages will be destroyed and heavy land tax imposed on them by the Kooka government. These soobas are well known for their seditious preaching. They reckon their numbers at about 400,000 men. If released they will certainly do mischief, and be more troublesome than before. They instigated the Malodh and Mallair Kotla movements. They look on Ram Singh as an immortal God.

6. *Bella*.—I swear by Gooroo Gobind Singh, also by Gungajee, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. My name is Bella, caste, Hindoo Jat, father's name Fouzdar, age 50 years, resident of Saniwall, District Loodiana. Bhainee is four koss from my village. I know Ram Singh, the Kooka Gooroo, also his 11 soobas now in custody. They are notorious as propagandists. They invited and urged people to join the Kooka faith; threatened punishment to those refusing, and promising jagirs and free land to all Kookas. They used to declare Ram Singh will shortly be king. The current month of Chait was fixed for this great event. They told people it was useless cultivating as the raj will shortly pass to the Kookas. These soobas constantly told people there were three to four hundred thousand Kookas. They instigated the Mallair Kotla and Malodh disturbance. If released from custody, they will do serious harm, creat further disturbances and movements on a larger scale than before, as all Kookas have been strongly impressed with the idea that through Ram Singh's divinity all must very soon be released from custoday, and then the Kockas must get the raj.

Taken by me this 11th day of April 1872, and I certify that the above are witnesses, correct statements voluntarily made in my presence.

(Signed) **R. WARBURTON**, Major,
Offg. District Supdt. of Police.

—□—

Appendix B

No. 4

CHIEFS OF THE KUKKA SECT.

(Registered in the O'Connor's confidential letter No. 108 of 27th November 1871, to address of the officiating Inspector General of Police, Punjab.)

1	2	3	4	5	5	7
Serial No.	Name, father's name and caste.	Residence.	Position.	Whether he has had a military training, and where.	Whether he is in service now and where.	REMARKS
1	Ran Singh son of Joon Singh, Tinkhar	Hlaing, Loodiana...	Head of the sect.	During Galla side was a spy in the Newcastle Regiment.	No	Ran Singh confided West with Kesh Singh to Nepal.
2	Satb Singh, son of 'Lall' Singh, Jit.	Tharoonwala, Tern Tera, of Loodiana, but stays at Hlaing.	Sooka...	No...	No...	Dalo Dalo dalo A man of doubtful habits. Has no fixed place of residence. Travels about from district to district.
3	Kesh Singh alias Nihang Singh, son of Nodia Kalla.	Chak, State of Mullair Kalla.	.....	Was a Hindustani in the Newcastle Regiment.	No...	Of a turbulent and fanatical disposition, capable of creating a disturbance. Is said to have been recently imprisoned at Port Blair.
4	Ladda Singh, son of Ran Singh, Jit.	Chak Banoor, Port Blair	.....	Spy in the 2nd Police Battalion (Banda's) in which he was still instructor.	No	

1. Satb Singh son Dayal Singh, Carpenter, village Bannellpoor, -officer.

CHIEFS OF THE KOOKA SECT... Continued...2

2	3	4	5	6	7
Margal Singh, son of Jat	Pattala, Dhalapore.	Surda Sooba ..	Not satisfactorily known...	No. --	It is said the Raja of Pattala offered him money to convert to leave the sect, but he would not leave it. He has been turned out of Pattala, and now stays with Ram Singh.
Hera Singh, Lurba (hill) son of --, Jat	Doodhpore, close to Agabere, Unbulla	Agabere, Sooba ..	Served as a Ghazdar during Sikh times.	Was in custody at Cawnpore, but it is said he has been discharged.	
Munee Singh, grandson of Harne Singh, Nabwa.	Off the Gograonwala District, but resided within the last eight years at Chauras Gaudine, Mahabpur, Madhupore.	Sooba	Yes, at Nepal ..	Yes, at Nepal has the rank of Captain.	
Hera Singh, modern (dwarf), son of --, Jat.	Sudhewra, Jagdoh, Unbulla.	Agabere, Sooba ..	Not known ..	No.	
Mohn Singh, son of Tadhul Singh, Jat.	Chak Mafiar Kotla ..	Sooba	Served as Ghazdar in the Sikh Army.	No. --	A personal friend of No.3.
Kishan Singh, son of Nardhi Singh, Kulal.	Gieratgarh, Unbiter ..	--- ..	No. --	At present at Nepal. Service not known.	
Gopal Singh, son of Sohn Singh, Jat	Pattala ..	--- ..	No. --	No. --	Resides chiefly at Dhalapore.

CHIEFS OF THE KUKA SECT., Continued...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Datta Boda Singh, son of —	Lahore ...	...	No ... No ...	Proprietor of some native paper.	
13.	Kurtar Singh, son of —, caste Bades.	Dokra-Bada Narak, Gujranwala.	...	No ...	No ...	Fiercely fanatical.
14.	Furach Singh, son of Punjab Singh, Sodhee.	Chandapore, Hoshiarpore.	...	No ...	No ...	
15.	Phagwan Singh, son of Sodhan, cast. Jt.	Navanagar, Barga, Jullundur.	...	Served for five years in the 2nd Sikh Cavalry, under Major Brown. Was slain by British in Hoshiarpore during the mutiny assigned to 1160.	No ...	Resides chiefly at Unkarar. Brother of No. 2.
16.	Rose Singh, son of Lal Singh, Jt.	Thirumalles, Tam Taran, Unkarar.	...	No ...	No ...	Has no fixed place of residence; wanders about preaching the Kuka creed.
17.	Jowhar Singh, son of Dal Singh, Jt.	Kuchergah, Dhirkote, Peshawar.	...	Served in the Cavalry during Sikh times.	No ...	No ...
18.	Gyases Singh alias Bures Singh, son of —, Jt.	Ferozepore.	...	No ...	Served in some regiment No.	Fiercely fanatical and capable of creating a disturbance.
19.	Mullock Singh, son of —, Jt.	Ferozepore.	...	Served in the 4th Irregular Cavalry in 1857-58.	No ...	
20.	Noods Singh, son of Jagan Singh, caste Jat.	Durgapore, Barga, Jullundur.	...		No ...	

1. Sri Dyal Singh Carpenter, village Barwaligere, edlon.

CHRIST OF THE KUKA SECT... Continued...4

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Brahma Singh, son of Guridi Singh, Jt.	Kowliara, Shakhah, Umbala.		No	No	No fixed place of residence; wanders about preaching.
22.	Jom Singh, son of Rattan Singh, Kowliara.	Curat, Sankro ..		No	No	
23.	Patara Singh, son of Hen Singh, Jt.	Northandah, Phillaur, Jalandhar.		No	No	
24.	Khujan Singh, son of Pren Singh, Lohar	-do-		No	No	
25.	Dewa Singh, son of Jeymal Singh, Tukkaa	Labana		No	No	
26.	Capal Singh, son of Jaga Brahman.	Bhatian, Patiala ..		No	No	Formerly as Cochinse Fuleer.
27.	Sonsdun Singh, son of Ran Singh, Jt.	Mahulpur, Hoshiarpore		No	No	
28.	Palam Singh, son of Sohal Singh, Jt.	Bhatian, Patiala.		No	No	
29.	Masa Singh, son of Kamal Singh, Tukkaa.	Sawaz, Patiala.		No	No	
30.	Jaga Singh, son of Masa Singh, Jt.	Mehra, Bagasporina, Farrukh.		No	No	No settled place of residence; wanders about preaching the Kuka creed; formerly as Oodhoo Fuleer.

CHIEFS OF THE KUKA SECT.—Continued...5

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	Semal Singh, son of Jagat Singh, Tikhra.	Techa, Patiala.	.. ..	No.	No.	
32.	Jamal Singh, son of Bhanda Singh, J.L.	Gil, Pinner, Sealoke.	.. and Malant..	Not known	Not known.	
33.	Nihal Singh, son of Anwar Singh, J.L.	Dadara, Narowal, Sealoke.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
34.	Kari Singh, son of Sroth Singh, J.L.	-do-	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
35.	Bachha Singh, "Nikka" son of Baryan Singh, J.L.	Oogoo Chak, Sarlah, Sealoke.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	A recent conversation was previously a Goolabara Sath.
36.	Randana, son of Tikhra.	Kara Gurika Singh, close to Goolabara Gate.	.. ..	No.	No.	
37.	Prabhu Singh, son of Ootam Singh, Tikhra.	Moortulah, Phillour, Jullundur.	.. ..	Unknown ..	Unknown	
38.	Jata Singh, son of .., Eal Singh, J.L.	Dreppar, Patner, Sealoke.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
39.	Preddas son of .., Byagat.	Ghosemance, Patiala.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
40.	Hera Singh son of Maho Singh, Bala.	Synawal Bala, Unnitor.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	No fixed place of residence, wanderers about preaching the Kuka creed.

CHIEFS OF THE KOOKA SECT... Continued...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.	Goolab Singh son of Baba.	Goolapur, Barnia, Guwahati, Dibrugarh, Goalpara, Jorhat, Guwahati.				No fixed place of residence. wanders about preaching the Kooka creed.
42.	Harn Singh, son of Sahai Singh, Chamba.					Was previously a Goolabian Sabh.
43.	Mohar Singh, son of Ram Singh, Tarn Taran.	Ujra, Hillwar, Jullundur.				
44.	Narain Singh, son of Jassa Singh, Bhatinda.	Mahipora, Kasur, Ludhiana.	Naik Sarda			
45.	Prem Singh, son of Khosla Singh, Jull.	Bhatinda, Kasur, Ludhiana.	Sohn	In the 4th Punjab Cavalry in which he was a Duffadar; resigned in 1883.		
46.	Mansoor Hockman, wife of Nand Singh, Jull.	Barnia, Mahabore, Hoshiarpore.	Perrish Sooba			
47.	Musammar Hockman, widow of Karam Singh, Kull.	Hoshiarpore.				
48.	Sadar Man Singh, son of Sirdar Bhag Singh, Khanna.	Poor Harna, Hoshiarpore.	Jagbir			This man's sister is married to Sirdar Nirmal Singh, a younger brother of the late "Tikka Sahib", of Unahpore.

CHIEFS OF THE KOOKA SECT... Continued...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49.	Sirdar Chanda Singh, son of Khosul Singh Jai	Kalowsakar, Harana, Haskapure	..	No ..	No ..	A daughter of his man is married to Lall Singh, jagirdar of Bilaspore, Thana Bilaspore. He has four adult sons, all of whom are Kookas.
50.	Hodema Singh alias Ghansu, son of Mohar Singh Jai	Lalhar, Nabha ..	Sooka ..	Unknown ..	Unknown ..	

HOSHARPUR.

The 27th November 1871.

T.A. MCCONNER

Cdr. District Staff, of Feroz.

J.C.P. BAILLIE, Lieut. Col.

Cdr. Depot Corps, of Feroz.

Note : Father's name, Caste, Residence and Position etc. of many members of the Kooka sect given in this Appendix are not correct. For example information regarding Sooka Sahib Singh, serial No.2 and his elder brother Sooka Roor Singh are incorrect. —efflu.

Appendix B.
No. 3
Particulars regarding the Kuka leaders, who were lately deported in Allahabad.

1	2	3	4	RESIDENCE.		7	8	9	10	11
				Village.	Town.					
Serial No.	Name.	Percentage.				Circle or Division usually in charge of as Kuka.	Profession or calling.	Character and influence as Kuka.	Notes of their antecedents.	General remarks.
1.	Satub Singh	Dyal Singh (Trilokan)	Bharwal-pore	Junlun	Unlun.	In personal assistance to Ran Singh.	Sud ..	Is one of the leading men of the sect, so far as period to be mentioned to be most abitious and designing, & said to be Ran Singh's probable successor.	Was for some years associated with Bakhia Singh. Subsequently took up his abode at Bakhia as Mookhandar to Ran Singh.	
2.	Roor Singh	Dido ..	---	---	Unlun City.	Unlun City.	Unlun ..	Of very great influence in Unlun.	Probably owes his position as Kuka to the fact of his nephew being the chief man about Ran Singh.	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
3.	Lakha Singh	—	Uphar ...	Dhyan	Lodhna...	In personal attendance on Ran Singh.	Nil Was once a soldier	A turbulent character of great influence in the sect. His the credit of always leading to violence.	Was a spy in the Sheriff's Regiment; dismissed as a bad character.	Colonel McAndrew, authority.
4.	Kaka Singh (Mehar)	—	Mulla...	Hariana...	Hohnapur...		Fan never follow ed my always a Bihangum.	A turbulent fellow; has the same repen- sion as the above.	Is a Garhwal of Ran Singh	
5.	Brahma Singh —	—	Kolana.	—	Unhal...	Soldiers and Goojrawalla border.	Seth	Of great influence and has the charac- ter of being some- what learned.	Preached a mean- ingful address to his followers in Goojrawalla, concerning the trader's market and highly religious generally.—see D.S. Goojrawalla's weekly No. 11, dated 13th July 1871.	
6.	Jowahir Singh,	—	Nothing knows of this man here...	Nothing knows of this man here...	Belaspore	The vicinity of his own village	Landlord of village	..	In 1860, collected some 102 Kuchas and	
7.	Nalook Singh...	—	Rathwalia	Mokhar...	Pennepent					

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
8.	Man Singh	—	Nothing known of his men here.	—	*	—	—	—	Joined Musziri Singh's force on heads of Ferozepore and Sirsa. — See collected papers No. XXIII of 1809. Was also concerned in the above affair.	Was sent to report proceedings to Ram Singh, and to obtain his orders previous to the Unwarin butcher trade.
9.	Hochma Singh	—	Ditto	—	Nabha.	Between Bealwah and Unwarin, the country known as the —	—	Of considerable influence in his circle	Unknown	—
10.	Pahra Singh	—	Not known precisely.	—	Puristia	—	—	—	—	—
11.	Muzal Singh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

J.C.T. BAILLIE, Lieut. Col.,
C.B. Deputy Agent Genl. of Police.

APPENDIX—B

No. 6.

No.26, dated Lahore, the 25th March 1872.

Memo From—LIEUTENANT. COLONEL J.C.P. BAILLIE.

Officiating Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore Circle.

To—LIEUT.-COL. G HUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector General Police,
Punjab.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| * 1. Sahib Singh | 2. Reor Singh |
| 3. Lukka Singh | 4. Burmah Singh |
| 5. Pahara Singh | 6. Kaha Singh. |

HAS the honor to submit statements regarding character and antecedents of Kooka Soobas of the Lahore Circle recently deported to Allahabad,* also statements furnished by Major Wall, District Superintendent of Police, Ferozepore, regarding Soobas of that District also deported, viz.,—

No.7. Jowahir Singh

No.8. Man Singh.

2. There yet remain the following, regarding whom particulars are still wanting and have been called for :

No.9. Mullook Singh.

No.10. Hookma Singh.

Both the latter belong also to the Malwa, and no particulars regarding them are known to the undersigned personally.

—o—

Dated the 16th April 1872.

Demi-Official from—LIEUT.-COL. J.C.P. BAILLIE, Officiating Deputy
Inspector General of Police, Lahore Circle.

To—LIEUT.-COL.-G HUTCHINSON, C.S.I. Inspector General of Police,
Punjab.

If Pahara Singh's evidence is not in the Sessions file, it may be in that of the committing Magistrate's; if in neither, I must be mistaken in supposing that it was recorded on the trial, but I do not think I am.

One thing I am sure of is, that I took Pahara Singh's statement myself. But the whole file of eviulence I recorded preparatory to sending the men for trial, was sent by me to Turton Smith, and he has gone off, goodness knows where. I have had an application from Orchard for the file, and have wished to refer to it myself more than once. I will write to Turton Smith to-day, through Lane, Post Master General.

P.S.—Pahara Singh did not implicate Burmah Singh on the trial; he simply admitted his own share in having gone to the Kooka meeting, preliminary to the attack on butchers, and having gone to see Ram Singh afterwards.

No.1. Sahib Singh, son of Dyal Singh, caste Turkhan, occupation Sadh or Faqeer, originally of Bunwaleepore, Turn Tarun, Unrisur. -Has never followed any trade, has been from his youth a Nanga Sadh or Faqeer. During his wanderings he fell in with Burmah Singh of Muloutsur and accompanied him to Huzroo where both are said to have been initiated to Kookaism by Baluk Singh, the founder of the sect. On Ram Singh's accession to the guddee, Sahib Singh attached himself to him first on a menial capacity, but was subsequently raised to a position of greater confidence and trust about his immediate person.

Is not known to have ever married or to have had any family ties. He devoted himself entirely to the sect of which he was one of the most zealous, and active promoters. He is not known to have had charge of any circle, or to have gone about making many converts, but he was Ram Singh's right-hand man, his most trusted lieutenant. He had much to say in all the affairs of the sect, and is said to have introduced the organization of soobas. Was sent to Nepal with two buffaloes and two mules, as present to Jung Bahadoor. He was by many reputed to be Ram Singh's probable successors. He was of rather superior education. Was known to be an ambitious, designing man, constantly inciting Ram Singh to fresh schemes for aggrandizement of the sect.

He is perhaps the best known of all the soobas.

The following persons can speak to his character :

1. Sirdar Nihal Singh, Chachi, Rawul Pindiee.
2. Sirdar Mungul Singh, Rangurria, Umritsur.
3. Tehsildar Ooday Ram, Jullundur.
4. Sirdar Bikrama Singh, Alhowallian.
5. Mahomed Shah Khan, Honorary Magistrate, Umritsur.
6. Sirdar Goolab Singh, Bhagowalia, Umritsur.
7. Lumberdars of Bhaince.

No.2. Roor Singh, son of Dyal Singh, caste Turkhan, occupation carpenter, originally of Bunwaleepore, Tura Tarun, Umritsur, of Umritsur city - Is a brother of Sahib Singh (No.1). Has always followed the trade of a carpenter and earned his living thereby. Is a married man and peaceable character if left to himself. Owed his position as a sooba entirely to his brother's influence. Has been for some years sooba of the Umritsur Kookas; made many converts there, and had some influence chiefly through his relationship with Sahib Singh. Was known as a zealous Kooka, but never gave any trouble. Always assumed a very meek and humble demeanour when summoned to the presence of any official. Was as a witness in butcher murder trials; was considered to have been undoubtedly cognizant of the conspiracies there with connected, but kept clear of any active participation therein. His coadjutor, Lehna Singh, was transported for life for abetment of the said outrage.

Witnesses to character and above facts.

Honorary Magistrate of Umritsur.

Tehsildar of Umritsur.

No.3. Lukka Singh, caste Jat, occupation formerly a sepoy of the 20th Sher-dil Police Battalion, place of residence Dhelon, Loodiana - This man was always known in his regiment as a restless, troublesome character. His place of birth is not far from Bhaince (Ram Singh's village), and he was initiated there. Soon after he became a Kooka, he took his discharge and attached

himself almost entirely to Ram Singh. He itinerated somewhat in the Majha (Lahore-District) and made some converts; he resided, however, permanently in Bhainee; accompanied the Gooroo in all his tours, and became his closest personal attendant. He was known as a daring, turbulent man, and was considered by the better disposed of the sect to be one of Ram Singh's evil counsellors ever inciting Kookas to intolerance and antagonism with other sects.

Was rather troublesome on one occasion, at a festival in Umritsur city, but was brought to order by a Police Inspector, formerly a Soobader in his Regiment, who reminded him that his character was known, and that he would meet with very summary treatment if not quiet and orderly in his conduct.

Witnesses to the above facts,

1. Commandant Uttur Singh, Sirdar Bahadocr, late 2nd Police Battalion.
2. Sirdar Mungul Singh, Ramgurria.
3. Lumberdars of Bhainee.

No. 4. Burmah Singh, caste Jat, occupation Nanga Sadh, place of residence not known certainly.—The accounts received of this man's previous history and antecedents are very conflicting and unreliable; he himself usually gives a different account on each occasion of being interrogated.

He is not known to have had any fixed home or connections, but has always been a wandering Sadh. Is said to have been initiated by Baluk Singh, of Huzroo, the original founder of the sect.

Is a man of considerable intelligence, and holds forth well on religious subjects. He is not confined to any particular circle, but is well-known in Goojranwala, Sealkote, Lahore, Umritsur, and Jullundur. He has probably made more converts than any other sooba. Is known as an active, zealous propagandist and extremely bigoted in his views.

During the butcher murder enquiries, it transpired that this sooba was invited to a preliminary conference held at Lopokee by the projectors of those outrages; he was too cautious to attend in

person, but deputed an under sooba, Pahara Singh, whose evidence was secured on the trail.

After the butcher murders, Burmah Singh preached a remarkable address at Hafizabad, inculcating the prevention of kine-killing as a duty incumbent on all true Sikhs; he has always attracted notice from the inflammatory tenor of his discourses tending to excite the fanaticism of his followers.

No. 5. Pahara Singh, occupation Oodasee Soodh, place of original residence Ludiana District—Little or nothing is known of this man's previous history, beyond that he was a wandering Sadh, and is believed to have been initiated to Kookanism by Ram Singh early in his career.

He was employed chiefly in the country between the Sealkote and Umritsur Districts. He made many converts, and was active as a sooba, but in a quiet way.

He was sent by Burmah Singh to attend a conference held by the Kookas of Lopokee in Umritsur District, preparatory to the carrying out of the butcher murders. He was also sent up Bhaince, to ascertain what were Ram Singh's wishes with regard to this undertaking.—See evidence of Pahara Singh and others recorded on trial of the Umritsur case, September 1871.

No. 6. Kan Singh, alias Nihung Singh, caste Jat, place of residence Chuk, Mallair Kotla—Has been notorious since 1864, chiefly in the Jullundhur Doab. Served originally in the Nao-Nihal Regiment (Sikh Army), in which was also Ram Singh and some other now noted Kookas; he was present at the battles of Sobraon and Moodkee, wounded at the former. Made many converts chiefly among soldiery and the police, was active in spreading the tenets of the sect.

Was present in the Hoshiarpore District during the butcher disturbances, and daily got up meetings of Kookas on various pretences; he was at one time suspected of tampering with the orderly serjaents of the Police lines, with a view, it has thought, of getting arms. His proceedings attracted the attention of authorities;

he was arrested and kept under Police surveillance for about two months.

One of his personal attendants behaved in a most outrageous manner at the Anundpore fair in 1870¹, assaulting a man and cutting upon his hand severely with a knife, because he found him smoking a *hooka*.

Was a fellow disciple with Ram Singh, of Baluk Singh, of Huzroh, the original founder of the sect. Occupies a most prominent place among the soobas. Was deputed to Nepal with Sahib Singh on an embassy to Jung Bahadoor in 1870. Has the character of a designing and dangerous man.

Witnesses to the above facts:-

1. Gurnesha Singh, Zaildar of Dangoh, Hoshiarpore.
 2. Nageena Singh, of Mehalpore.
 3. Achhur Singh
 4. Humam Singh
- } of Hushiarpore.

J.C.P. BAILLIE, *Lieut-Col.,*
Offg. Deputy Inspector General of Police.

— o —

1. Hole festival of 1870 A.D. —editor.

Appendix—B.

No. 7

POLICE DEPARTMENT, LAHORE DISTRICT.

Particulars regarding the under-mentioned Kuka leaders who were lately deported to Allahabad

Serial No.	Name	Parwanage	RESIDENCE			Profession or calling	Circle of division usually in his charge as a Sorba	Character and influence as a Sorba	Names of known respectable persons who vouch to the accuracy of these men and the facts stated.	GENERAL REMARKS.
			Village.	Thana.	District.					
1.	Lukha Singh...	Ran Singh...	Phillowdh	Lodiana		Military Service.	Usually with Ran Singh, seldom going about alone. Jullundur District, south part of Lahore District.	A very active propleader; Ran Singh's agent in every matter.	See Depositions annexed.	Ceaten's N. 4, 5 are taken from selected papers No. XV, of 1858, and are believed to be correct. As will be seen from the statements accompanying this return few Kukhas ever know his residence prior to his taking up his abode at Bhainee as Ran Singh's aide-de-camp. My own experience of the man's character is seen at Unahar that is that of all Ran Singh's followers he was the least inclined to head orders and obey authority. He was taken to task at the Bhainee fair for trying to break through the orders regarding the Kuka procession.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Berman Singh—	Goolab Singh—	Unbala— Koolas—	Probably a salt-water	North and west side of Lahore District, Gojranwala and Sialkot Districts.	A very earnest, diligent proselytiser.	See depositions attached.	Nos. 3, 4, 5, taken from selected papers No. X.V. of 1865 lie between case under my supervision, nor am I aware of ever having seen them.
2.	Jotha Singh—	Rama Singh—	Zafar— Tehpae—	A poor—	Do. in these we men used to move about together.	Probably the chief proselytiser next to Jotha Singh, being a fellow disciple of Fakir Singh of Hamah.	See depositions attached.	This man is generally reported to be Kuka Singh's probable successor, and his great weight & authority amongst Kukars.

LAFORÉ,
The 24 April 1872.

(Signed) OMENZIES, Captain,
District Superintendent of Police.

Statement of Soondhur Singh, son of Gunda Singh, Lumburdar of Echogil.—Have known Lukka Singh three years; had heard of him as a sooba of Bhaie Ram Singh two years before that. He came with Bhaie Ram Singh to Busseen, and since then has paid three or four visits. He is a resident of Malwa. I do not know the village, nor do I know whether he is married or not. I do not know what he was before he became sooba. He made many proselytes and was very diligent in doing so. The classes out of which he made them were *Jats*, goldsmiths, carpenters, kumear, khuttree, chumba, but chiefly carpenters. He was a very earnest proselytiser. Whenever Ram Singh went Lukka Singh went also to fairs and other assemblies. He apparently was only earnest in spreading the new sect, and I can not say what his intentions were. I am not aware of his ever having come under the surveillance of the police beyond the fact that wherever he appeared or any other sooba, the police were there also. He has not, that I know of, been prosecuted for any offence. He was seldom apart from Bhaie Ram Singh. Sahib Singh and Roor Singh are also known to me as soobas, and used to make converts and accompany Ram Singh. Jothah Singh and Burmah Singh, Soobas, have visited the villages near Echogil by themselves, and made proselytes in *Busseen*, *Kukker*, *Cheloku*, *Radha*, and *Echogil*. They made the most of the sect in these villages having been going about for the last six years. Jota Singh is a resident of village Dehpai, Zillah Sealkote. Burmah Singh comes from Malwa. Jothah Singh was a kumear and used to go about with donkeys selling earthen pots, & c. Whenever Ram Singh came these two used to join him, and on his leaving, used to go about the villages by themselves.

Statement of Hem Singh, son of Mehr Singh, Alia Lumburdar of Mangeh.—I have known Lukka Singh for the last two years; he came with Bhaie Ram Singh first, and then by himself as sooba to my village. I do not know his residence, nor anything about his family, nor what he was before he became a sooba. He was very successful in making proselytes, and chiefly amongst *Jats*, *Soonaras*, *Khuttrees*, and *Mehras*. He was a very diligent proselytiser and was highly respected by *Kookas*. I imagine his object was only

to spread the new religion, but cannot say what his ulterior objects were. He has not, to my knowledge, ever been prosecuted. Was always with Bhaic Ram Singh. Don't know any other Soobas.

Statement of Doola Singh, son of Dial Singh, of village Bagureean.—I do not know Lukka Singh, but know Jothah Singh and Burmah Singh as soobas who used to come round the villages in my vicinity, and make proselytes, for the last three or four years. I do not know their residence or anything about their families, or previous histories. They made nearly all the Kookas in Busseen.

Statement of Amir Singh, son of Mohur Singh, Lumburdar of Bumba Kulan, a Kooka.—I have known Lukka Singh as a sooba for the last two years or so, but do not know his residence; he always came from Bhainee when he came. I do not know of his being married. He used to come with two servants and two horses, and was quite a man to be respected. I only know him since he was a sooba. He made proselytes- *Jats, Turkhans, i.e.* carpenters, Socniara, Cheemba, and Khuttees,—chiefly carpenters. He was a very earnest proselytiser, and diligent in spreading the new religion. He used to attend those fairs to which Ram Singh went, and used to attend all weddings of Kookas and other meetings, if asked to do so. His only object was to spread the new religion.

I am not aware of his ever having been prosecuted or arrested by police. He was always with Gooroo Ram Singh, and went everywhere with him. His first visit was made with Ram Singh, and then he came alone. He made all of us Kookas.

Statement of Foujdar Singh, son of Dena Singh, Lumburdar of Doogaich.—I only know Jothah Singh as a Kooka sooba as he came to my village and Busseen, & c, and made the Kookas in it and the neighbouring ones. He appeared a very quiet man, speaking little, but making a good many proselytes. I do not know any other sooba.

Statement of Boolakee, son of Arora, of Shalkwan, Alla Lumburdar.—Don't know Lukka Singh. For the last four years have known Jothah Singh as a sooba of the Kooka sect. I know nothing about his antecedents. He made many converts, chiefly amongst

goldsmiths. He appeared to be a very earnest proselytiser. He made two Mahomedans Kookas in my village, one a Lillaree (dyer) now called Lillaree Singh, the other a Kashmeree, now called Kashmera Singh. He always came to all the fairs at Shaikwan. He was once summoned to Lahore when Captain Baillie was Police Officer, about six years ago, because he assembled the Kookas; and I believe a recognizance was taken from him that he would not have any more assemblies without permission. Don't know any other sooba.

Statement of Mehtab Singh, son of Uttar Singh, Lumburdar of Shaikwan, a Kooka.—For the last seven years I have known Lukka Singh when I went to Bhainee to pay my respects to Ram Singh. He was then a sooba. I have also known Jothah Singh, Sahib Singh, Roor Singh, Pahara Singh from that time as soobas. I do not know Lukka Singh's home nor anything about his antecedents. Jothah Singh is a resident of Dohpaie in Sealkote. Sahib Singh is a resident of Dunwaleepore in Umritsur; Roor Singh of Umritsur itself; Jothah Singh is a kumear, not married. Sahib Singh and Roor Singh are both Turkhans, and are not married that I know of. I believe Sahib Singh is a widower.² I know nothing of the antecedents of any of these men. Jothah Singh, Burmah Singh, and one Soodh Singh made all the Kookas in this direction, chiefly amongst Jats. They were all diligent in making converts. Jothah Singh was the chief proselytiser. Their only object was to spread a good religion.

None of them have ever been prosecuted to my knowledge. We had all about six years ago to enter into an agreement not to permit Kooka assemblies. Sahib Singh and Lukka Singh never left Ram Singh, they were always with him wherever he went. Burmah Singh, Jothah Singh, and Soodh Singh used to go about alone.

Statement of Shani Singh, son of Lal Singh, Puttedar of Bumba Kulan.—Have known Lukka Singh for the last two years or so when he came with Bhaie Ram Singh. I know nothing about his home or family, or antecedents. He always came from Bhainee. He was a great proselytiser amongst nearly all Hindoo castes.

1. Suba Roor Singh was a married man.—editor.

2. Suba Sahib Singh was unmarried. —editor.

Cannot say of which cast there were most converts. He was very diligent, and his object was to spread the new faith. I am not aware of his ever having been under police surveillance. Was a constant companion of Bhainee Ram Singh; never left him unless ordered to go round the villages. Have heard of Sahib Singh as a Sooba. Know of no others.

Statement of Bahadur Singh, Zaildar of Raja Jung.—Four years ago when Lukka Singh came to our villages, I first heard of him as a sooba. During the last eight months have seen Roor Singh at Umritsur. Don't know for certain where Lukka Singh's home is, but believe it is close to Bhainee. He is Jat ; unmarried. Don't know what he was before he was a sooba. He made many proselytes amongst us, chief amongst carpenters. Was a very diligent sooba. Apparently his object was to spread the new religion. In 1870 he came to the Bisakhee fair at Ram Jummam. Last year when he came round he did speak at Bumba of the coming Sikh rule; he had at that time a paper which he read from that Ram Singh would be an "Outar," i.e., a great ruler. Believe that this paper was seized at Umritsur. Don't know of his having ever been prosecuted. He was always with Ram Singh and lived with him. He was in all things Ram Singh's *mookhtear*, i.e., agent. Don't know Sahib Singh or Burnah Singh, except by reports. Have heard that they were Oodassee Sadhs.

Statement of Khazan Singh, son of Meeah Singh, Lumburdar of Busseen, a Kooka.—Have known Lukka Singh by report as a sooba for the last three years. Know Jothah Singh two years. Was made a Kooka by him, as my father was also. Jothah Singh's home, is at Dohpaie in the Sealkote District. He is by cast a kumear; has no wife. Before he was a sooba he used to live by selling earthen pots. He has five brothers, two are Kookas. Jats and Turkhans, i.e., carpenters, are the castes amongst which Kookas are chiefly made. The object in view of these Soobas was to spread a good religion. Don't know of any prosecutions. Jota Singh was always going about.

C. MENZIES, Captain,
District Superintendent of Police.

*Memorandum by Major J.C.P. BAILLIE, Esq. Deputy
Inspector General of Police.*

As might have been expected, the statements of Kooka witnesses go to show the Soobas were zealous, but perfectly sincere and guiltless of any ulterior ambitious schemes.



APPENDIX No. 8.

[Confidential]

No. 43, dated the 29th March 1872.

Memo. From—E.L. CHARDE, Esq. District Superintendent of Police.
Gonjranwalla.

To—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

IN compliance with No. 132, dated 22nd instant, submits the return of Kooka Soobas called for, and states being unable to supply the required particulars regarding any but Burmah Singh.



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
									7. Feroza Singh Lumberer of Khana.	6. Phans Sani, Karamby Thana.
									8. Hara Singh Lumberer of Jullar.	7. Maitoo, do, do
									9. Harn Singh, Purwar of Shanaka.	8. Khandy Khan.
									10. From Singh, Larwar of Shanaka.	9. Rajah, do, do
									11. Khan Singh, Lumberer of Gadisaon.	10. Manas do, do
									12. Arjant Rai, Purwar of Kural.	11. Bhulbar, do, do
									13. Iesh Singh, Purwar of Shanaka.	12. Gadsanoda, do, do
									14. Chai Singh, Zarwar of Kallak.	13. Thana Manik do, do
									15. Rajroop Lumberer of Kallak.	14. Kural, do, do
									15. Goorai Singh, son of Tula; Singh, Zaidar.	15. Malsah, do, do
										15. Khana, do, do
										17. Harpal, do, do
										18. Kila Dera Singh, Thana Bullock.
										19. Koi Bhonni Das.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
									17. Khan Singh, brother of Talsla Singh, Zaildar. 18. Mirza, Lim- broise of Munga. 19. Devotes Chaud, Kash Coomroo of Pergarah Shikharpoora. 20. Talsla Singh, Zaildar of Mirza. 21. Talsla Singh, Zaildar of Kallak.	10. Sharma, 11. Guman, 12. Dambol, 13. Jhinder, 14. Moolar, 15. Salaman Khasid, 16. Vanshetel, 17. Opand, 18. Chetabkara, 19. Thosin Goore, 20. Vanshetel.
										-Thornhillshakapora Khanga.

(Signed) E.L. CHARDE,
District Superintendent of Police.

GOORANWALLA;
The 29th March 1872.

APPENDIX—B

No. 9

[Confidential]

No. 44, dated 29th March 1871.

From—The District Superintendent of Police, Goojanwalla.

To—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your dockets marginally noted¹, calling for information regarding the antecedents of the Kooka Soobas deported to Allahabad, and for the depositions of men of family and respectability in support of their notoriety as Soobas and propagandists and for record of their seditious teachings.

2. Of the ten men named in your docket No. 122, I regret being unable to furnish the required information in respect to any but Brahma Singh, who was the Sooba of this locality, but resided and worked principally in the Sealkote District, although he did make tours in this district also.

3. With my docket No. 43 of this date, I have submitted a tabular return indicating all the information that can be gathered regarding the antecedents of Brahma Singh, and the evidence in support of it. To this I can only now add a precis of my confidential reports from July last, wherein I noted such information as reached me from time to time of the proceedings, saying and doings of Brahma Singh, and I may explain, in doing so, that I was, even when making these reports, so struck with the obviously seditious and dangerous nature of the speeches and teachings, or preachings imputed to Brahma Singh, and so convinced that the Kockas, judging from their demeanour and manner, meant mischief and had evidently been worked up, whether secretly or openly, by their religious teachers and guides into so dangerous a state of religious excitement, that I felt it my duty to bring the subject prominently to notice, and to convey a warning to this effect to the District Superintendent of Sealkot.

¹ 1. No. 122 of 18th March. 2. No. 131 of 22nd March. 3. No. 143 of 27th March.

4. In my confidential report A of 15th July 1871, I stated that Brahma Singh had recently arrived at Vurrun in the Shekhopoor District, and commenced to preach the Kooka doctrines; that he remained there several days, collected all the Kookas of the neighbourhood, made some converts, and proclaimed the following orders of Ram Singh, *viz.*, *first* that women who had received the "amrith" (Sikh Baptism) should not wear their hair in a top knot; *secondly*, that they should wear "jangias" or short trousers, under their petticoats; *thirdly*, that all disciples, whether males or females, ought at once to liquidate and adjust their accounts and debts, and for the future neither borrow nor lend; *fourthly*, that they should build no houses until further orders, but keep cash in their possession; *fifthly*, that the Gooroo Sahib (Ram Singh) had given notice that Mahants Sahib Singh and Kalu Singh (his Wazeers) who had been deputed to Nepal, had been received with great honor and favor by the Rajah of Nepal, who had, at their request, provided a "grunth" and a "grunthee," or reader and expounder of the grunth, for the spiritual instruction of the Sikh soldiers in the Nepal service, and the result was that most of the said Sikhs had become "Kookas"; that the Maharajah of Nepal had sent a propitiatory offering of a pearl necklace, a horse, Ruppes 5,000 in cash, and a lot of other small articles to Gooroo Ram Singh, with an intimation that he held the Gooroo in great reverence and regard; finally, the "Baba" (Brahma Singh) referred to the murder of the butchers at Umritsur as a commendable action in consonance with the Sikh faith.

Again, in my report B of the same date, I intimated the following as the purport of an explanatory sermon preached by Brahma Singh at the request of his Kooka disciples, who sought explanation on certain points mooted in his first address to them: *first*, in regard to the prohibition against building houses and lending money to others, and the request that Kookas should keep as much available cash as they can collect; the motive is this they should be prepared for the war or disturbance which will shortly occur at the command of Gooroo Hur Gobind Sahib, for money in cash will then be very useful, and this war will commence in Kartick and Mugger, Sumbut 1928 (October) and November 1871, *secondly*, in respect to the "jangias"

which women are ordered to wear, the motive is that their modesty may not be outraged, as in the war the women will take an active part in the proportion of one woman to every two men, and many would become martyrs; *thirdly*, that the Maharajah of Nepal, the Rajahs and Sirdars of the Punjab, had, for the purposes of this war, all subordinated themselves to Gooroo Ram Singh, and would help with arms, men and money; but for the present, every "Namdhari" or Kooka should keep an axe, which is even a better and more useful weapon than a tulwar. At this stage of his address, Brahma Singh alleged to have become excited (a state of feeling not at all uncommon among Kookas) and to have said, "see brethren 'Namdharis' Hur Gobind Sahib has become Suth Goor and appeared again, mounted on horse-back, he has vindicated his authority at Umritsur in the slaughter house, his followers on that occasion being the Sikhs, who had, in former times, become martyrs for their faith. Have patience, many such scenes will occur again, and if the present rulers of our country should dare to desecrate it still more, and interfere with our consciences, or meddle with us in any way, then see what will happen in many places. But there is no fear for us. The days for the fulfilment of our prophecies, and the restoration of the Raj (Government) of the "Khalsa" are close at hand. Be ready and faithful. Recently a holy brother was in a trance for two days, and saw a vision, in which the village of Bhainee (Ram Singh's residence) appeared to him surrounded by a large Sikh army, dressed in blue. The Gooroo Ram Singh led them in person, and proclaimed that they were the army of martyrs destined to restore the Sikh faith and supremacy in its original purity and integrity. The "Chukker" (quoit) and "Safa" (turban) found at Umritsur are symbols of martyrdom indicated to us by the Gooroo Hur Gobind Sahib."

In reference to these two reports, I wrote to Colonel Staples on 19th July, that Brahma Singh had, I believed, used rather seditious language in this district; that he had returned to Gulloty near Duska in Sealkote District; that I thought it right to warn Colonel Staples of this, and that the Kookas, as a body, meant mischief. At the same time I asked Colonel Staples to have Brahma Singh's and Jotha Singh's movements quietly watched, and to let me know

when either of them came in this direction. On the same date also, I submitted copies of the reports to the Commissioner, with the knowledge and concurrence of the Deputy Commissioner, saying that I did so, because I believed they contained matter of some importance affecting the peace of the country; that since writing the report marked B, I had heard that there had been some more butcher murders at Raakote in the Loodiana District; and it appeared illustrative of Brahma Singh's words "then see what will happen in many places;" that I thought myself that the Kookas were in a state of religious enthusiasm, and meant mischief.

In my confidential report of 22nd July, I noted arrangements made for watching Brahma Singh, and my conviction that the Kookas meant mischief, my belief that there was a general and decided impression among them that the period for restoration of Sikh supremacy in the Punjab was close at hand, inasmuch as other prophecies regarding the exposure of the bodies of the Delhi Shahzadahs on the spot where the corpse of Gooroo Tag Bahadur had been exposed by the Emperor Aurangzebe, and the part taken by the Sikhs in the siege and captures of Delhi had, accordingly to their belief, been literally fulfilled; and that therefore the sequel of the restoration of Sikh power must necessarily follow as a matter of course.

In report of 29th July, I noticed having heard of Brahma Singh having gone in the direction of the "bar" tract, and of his being expected at Chuk Hindoo near Goojranwalla. In it I also alluded to a Kooka Sergeant, who, in the struggles between his feelings of religion and loyalty, evinced that the latter was, on that occasion, the stronger of the two, for he gave us timely warning. For obvious reasons it would be inexpedient to name him, the more especially as he would, in all human probability, run great risk of losing his life if his name obtained publicity.

In report of 5th August, I stated that Brahma Singh had been itinerating in this district, and that some inquiries injudiciously made had alarmed the Kookas, and made them unusually cautious, that it had, however, been previously ascertained that they expressed

their belief that Ram Singh, of Bhainee, is the Avatar of Gooroo Govind Singh prophesied in the Grunth, that in Sumbut 1929 (1872 A.D. editor) the "Akápurkh" (Almighty) will give him the sovereignty of the country; that a son had been born to Kishen Singh, the Cabul Sooba¹, and was dear to Gooro Ram Singh, and would eventually be the Commander-in-Chief of the Kooka army; that these circumstances must occur before the close of Sumbut 1929;² that previous to this, however, the "Punth" or Kooka confederation must suffer persecution, and then be finally victorious and supreme; that help would be received from Afghanistan, that Kishen Singh had visited Ram Singh during the previous year;³ that the punishment of the sinful cow-killers had been predicted, that the Gooroo's flag would be planted in various places; that during Sumbut 1928 the distinctive arms of the Kookas would be small axes or hatchets, but that in the following year, all descriptions of arms would be supplied to them by the "Gooroo Sahib" to whom all things are possible; that they had been warned that Kookas were suspected of the butcher murders; that they should therefore be ready, on receipt of the next order, to come to Umritsur where the Goaroo Sahib would inquire into the matter; that meetings would be held at Jullunder and Ludiana, and it would then be seen what the intentions of Government were.

In report of 5th August, I intimated that Brahma Singh had been moving about a good deal; that he went for a day or two to Duska, in the Sealkate District, and from thence to Choochurkana and Vurrin in the "bar" portion of the Shekhopoora and Khangah jurisdictions; that he had become cautious; that messengers from Bhainee had passed through on their way back from Rawul Pindee and Peshawur, travelling rapidly by ekka.

1. Bishan Singh—Sakhee 100th page 184, 'Kabul Sikh humara hosie, Bishan Singh teh Naam dharose.' See 'Gur Ratan Maal' edited by Dr. Gurcharan Singh Neyyar and published by Punjabi University, Patiala.—editor.

2. 1872-1873 A.D.—editor.

3. 1870 A.D.—editor.

In report of 19th August, I described a visit I received from Brahma Singh, in which he told me he was a native of a village (Koolara) near Kythul in the Umballa District, and of all the good he had done in the way of reducing marriage expenses, and reforming the morals of his co-religionists but pretended not having even heard of the butcher murders, although the matter was of such notoriety as to be known to every villager.

In report of 26th August, I expressed popular belief that great efforts were being made by Ram Singh and his Soobas to increase the number of converts and get up a religious revival among the Kookas, numbers of whom had gone, divested of their distinctive dress, to Umritsur to watch the result of the Kooka trials,

On 2nd September I reported a gathering of the Kookas at Guddanwalla in the Kamoky jurisdiction of this district, the advent of Brahma Singh there, the expected arrival of Jotha Singh and Jumeyut Singh Soobas; that the ostensible reason assigned for the assembly was a marriage, that from Guddanwalla the Soobas purposed going to Choochurkana, where the same reason of a marriage was assigned; that it was noted that the Kookas seemed excited and anxious; that messengers had been sent to Ram Singh at Bhainee; that Brahma Singh's and Jotha Singh's wanderings had a tendency to excite and disturb the minds of the Kookas; and that I did not think Brahma Singh was well disposed towards Government.

In report of 19th September I described further movements and doings of Brahma Singh, Jotha Singh, Jumeyut Singh, & c, a religious assemblage at Guddanwalla and Choochurkana; and that the Soobas in their addresses to their disciples exhorted them to remain firm in their faith and religious practices and observances, and quoted a prophecy from the "grunth", that an Avatar of Gooroo Govind Singh would be born in the house of a carpenter, and that his name would be Ram Singh.¹ The return of some messengers from Bhainee was also noted.

1. 'Ram Singh hoie mero nama, Badi sut Bhainee ko dhama'.—editor

On 23rd September I reported Brahma Singh's movements from Choohurkana in the "Bar" to Saharun Chatta near Akalgarh, from thence to Bynka Cheema near Wuzeerabad, thence to Toonda Gocroo in the Bar near Khangarh, and the various assemblies of Kookas at these places; also the Rajah Singh, Sooba of Trandi in the Sealkote District, had come to Jubber, intending to go on to Guddunwalla, where he purposed to hold a religious meeting; and I then observed that the Kooka Soobas seemed unusually active of late, and whether we attributed this to their desire to establish religious revivals or to political intrigues carried on under the cloak of religion, the fact was equally remarkable.

On 30th September I replied arrival at Guddunwalla of the Kooka Sooba Rajah Singh, from the Sealkote District.

On the 7th October I reported the breaking up of the two Kooka companies in the Jummoo Service, and on the 21st that Brahma Singh had gone towards Jummoo. From this time I lost sight of Brahma Singh, and was under the impression that he had returned from Jummoo to his usual residence at Chuk Rehan in the Sealkote District, where rumour said; he had an intrigue with a Kooka woman in whose house he lived. I do not know then he left for Bhainee, and received no intimation of his departure from the Sealkote District, although, when his arrest was ordered, I ascertained that he had first left Chuk Rehan for Bhainee about a month before, and secretly returned a few days previous to the outbreak, but only stayed a night, and then went off again in haste, leaving his horses and household goods behind. He did not, however, wander about this district subsequent to the month of September; and indeed he disliked and complained of the surveillance of the Police.

5. I have entered into this detail of Brahma Singh's itenerations in this district so as to give, in a concise form, all the information I could of his antecedents, in so as they are known to me. But I believe that he commenced his career as a Kooka Sooba in this district in 1865. I have however no knowledge of his doings for any period previous to July last, when his imputed preachings

attracted my attention. His antecedents are altogether doubtful, and the enclosed deposition indicate that he was at some pains to conceal his birth place and parentage from even his own followers and favorite personal attendants. It has therefore surmised or suspected that he is perhaps one of the mutinous Sepoys or Sowars of 1857, who adopted a religious disguise in order to escape identification. At all events, he is said to be a good horseman, and to have some knowledge of drill and military tactics, - accomplishments which are equally possessed by Ram Singh himself, and the Sooba Lukka Singh.

6. I do not pretend that positive evidence, word per word, of Brahma Singh's asserted seditious preachings at Varrun will be obtained; but the enclosed depositions will, in a general way, afford proof that he taught his disciples to believe in and expect the early restoration of Sikh supremacy and power in the person of their Gooroo Ram Singh, and that he did all in his power to make converts, and spread the Kooka tenets; in short that he was notorious as a propagandist. There can be no question but that the Hindoo Jats are not generally hostile in this locality to their Kooka brethren.

7. I hope to send you more depositions shortly of trustworthy persons residing in other parts of the district; but your call for an early report is so urgent that I cannot delay this letter, and it is a work of time, trouble and patience to search up reliable persons who may be induced give us the evidence you require.

8. In conclusion, I would invite your attention to the asserted teachings of Brahma Singh during the past year. The term of these is such as to the conviction that he was preparing the minds of the Kookas for the abortive disturbance which has since occurred; that he was in fact leading them to expect and prepare for it.

9. There are the following Soobas still in the Sealkote District; and of these Jotha Singh used sometimes to co-operate and work with Brahma Singh. Indeed, Jotha Singh's nomination to the office of Sooba is said to be older date than Brahma Singh's; but the latter, being of a more energetic character, and in greater favor

with Ram Singh appears to have somewhat superseded the former.

1. Jotha Singh, resident of Dhapye, Thanna, Pusroor, Zillah Sealkote.
2. Jumeyut Singh, of Gilwalla, Thanna Pusroor, Zillah Sealkote.
3. Rajah Singh, of Trandi, Thanna Meanee, Zillah Sealkote.
4. Goorchurun Singh, of Chuk Ram Das, Thanna Satra, Zillah Sealkote.

And the two men named below are "Mahunts" or priests, in subordination to these Scobas, viz:

1. Goolab Singi, carpenter of Bubber, Thanna Kamoky, Zillah Goojranwalla.
2. Boolaka Singh, Jat Zemindar of Vurrun, Thanna Shekhopoura, Zillah Goojranwalla.

1. Statement of Dya Singh, son of Dul Singh, caste Jat Vurrun, Head Lumberdar of Vurrun, Thannah Shekhopoura.—"Kookas live in my village. Brahma Singh, Kooka Sooba, came several times to my village. I have seen him, and know him. At religious assemblies and at marriages he used to tell all persons to become Kookas, or they would be sorry for it hereafter; that the "Raj" (Government) of the "Khalṣas" (Sikhs) was soon to come. He used to visit the villages of Ogund, Guddanwalla, Jhubber, Kureal, Moodar, Shamsha; and he converted several women, too, and made them wear "jangias" (short drawers), telling them that they were to become martyrs and ought to be so dressed, that their persons may not be exposed. When the Umritsur butcher murder occurred, Brahma Singh came to my village, and said the Gooroo Sahib's martyrs (Shaheeds) had killed them. The persons initiated in neighbouring villages used to come to Vurrun, but I do not know their names. Brahma Singh used to say 'don't borrow or lend, but keep with you whatever cash you have.' Brahma Singh is the first man who made Kookas in my

village, and it was his teachings which led to the conversion of the Kookas in it. Two years after Brahma Singh's first visit, Baba Ram Singh came to my village. Jotha Singh made Kookas also. Brahma Singh first came about seven or eight years ago, and since then used to come from time to time, from the Sealkote District, and hold religious assemblies."

2. *Shahbaz Khan, son of Azim Khan, caste Pathan, Baraitch, Head Lumberdar of Jhundiala Shere Khan, near Vurrun.*—"I know Brahma Singh, Kooka Sooba. Three years ago I heard that there was an assemblage of Kookas at Vurrun, and there was a great 'tamasha' worth seeing. I and others went there. Georoo Ram Singh was there. Brahma Singh was with him as his highest 'Moosahib' or representative. Brahma Singh was preaching to a crowd of about 500 persons, Kookas and others, and telling them to become Kookas. Ram Singh was silent. Brahma Singh was repeating that such a time would never come again. After this Brahma Singh several times visited Vurrun, Jhubber, Ogund, Moodar, Kureal, Guddanwalla. Choolurkana; but I never went to see him again, although I used to hear that he was exerting himself to propagate Kockaism and telling everyone to become Kookas, or they would be sorry for it, that Khalsa Raj (Government) was close at hand. The Kookas of Vurrun used to say that Brahma Singh predicted that only two and half months remained for its advent. To me their intention or desire appeared to be 'fisadwalla,' i.e., likely to lead to disturbances, but considering it 'wahiat' (absurd?), I said nothing. I heard that after the butcher murders, Brahma Singh came to Vurrun, and made women Kookas, and put 'Jangias' on them, and said, 'don't trade, don't give money to anyone, keep cash with you, it will be useful; the butchers have been killed by Baba Ram Singh's Shaheeds or martyrs; that he said to the women, you are to become martyrs, don't remain naked, Mauzah Vurrun is one-and-a-quarter Koss distant from my village; it is close; news used to always reach me. I don't know the Soobas Jotha Singh and Rajah Singh."

3. *Heera Singh, son of Sowaya, caste Jat Verikh, Head Lumberdar of Jhubber.*—"I know Sooba Brahma Singh of the

Kookas, and have seen him. There are Kookas in my village. He came to my village five or six times, and attended assemblies. He used to say, 'become Kookas, or you will be sorry for it. In about two and a half months the Gooroo Sahib's 'Raj' (Government) will come. Whoever does not become a Kooka will regret it. Then I wont give names (i.e., wont initiate.)' Whenever Brahma Singh came, five or six persons used to become Kookas. Religious assemblies used to be held at Ogund, Guddanwalla, Bubber, Jhubber, Vurrun, Choochurkana, Jhamke, Shamsha, and all places Brahma Singh used to teach what I said before. He used to say that whoever would not become a Kooka should not be thought as good as even a syce or groom. About the time of the Unritsur butcher murders, I heard Brahma Singh came to Vurrun, and said it was the work of the Babba Ram Singh's Shaheeds, and this was known in the neighbouring villages. And Brahma Singh and the Kookas used to talk, so that their intentions or desires seem bad, and he then used to say-'there is a short time, for the advent or obtaining of the Sultanut or Government. Come, enter, become Kookas. 'He put jangias' on the women. I heard this from Kookas in my village who used to talk; but since they have been watched, they say nothing. Formerly they said that Brahma Singh predicted in Sumbut 1928 their arms would be 'Gandasas', and in Sumbut 1929, ' they would get real arms. Jotha Singh used to come with Brahma Singh and he engaged in increasing the Kooka sect; he also initiated persons. Both used to come on tour from the Sealkote direction; they did not live in this District."

4. *Anokh Singh, son of Bal Singh, caste Verikh Jat, Zaildar of Choochurkana.*—"I was 10 years Police Zaildar. I know Brahma Singh Sooba. In Jeth or Hor Sumbut 1928, June or July 1871, there was a marriage in the family of Amreekh Singh, Kooka of Choochurkana, and then Brahma Singh Sooba came. I did not see him before this. Jotha Singh Sooba was with him. After the marriage, both these Soobas were preaching to the people, and urging them to become Kookas, or they would regret it. In my

presence or hearing they did not say that the Raj of the Gooroo Khalsa was at hand; but this was rumoured or talked about that they did say so, and other Kookas also. These kinds of things are said by the Soobas first, and repeated by the Kookas afterwards. I also heard that he had initiated women, and put the 'Kutch' on them, assigning as the reason that it was the order, was lawful, and prevented uncleanness, and led to martyrdom. I then heard he had gone to Vurum. From him I heard nothing about the butcher's murders; but other Kookas said the Gooroo Sahib's Shaheeds had killed them; that at the scene of the crime, there were tracks of men and horses. Both these Soobas used to come on tours from the Sealkote District; they did not live in this district. Formerly Jotha Singh came twice to my village. Brahma Singh only came last Har. I don't know Brahma Singh's parentage and native place; people used to say he was a Brahmin."

5. *Dyal Singh, son of Perdhan Singh, caste Mudoo Jat, Lumberdar of Bhae Muttcon.*—"In my village Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh Soobas used to come from the Sealkote District. They came three times. Invariably their object was to convert, and they said people would be sorry for not joining their sect. For the past year or year and-a-half, they used to say that their destiny would soon be fulfilled; that the 'badshahee' (reign) of the Gooroo Sahib would come. They did not tell me this. I heard it from the Kookas, and also that they had converted women, and put 'jangias' on the latter; and in my own village three or four women became Kookas. The object of converting women was to keep them in the religion. When the Umritsur murders occurred, the Kookas said that the Gooroo Sahib's Shaheeds had killed the butchers by supernatural means. Jotha Singh first came to my village, and Brahma Singh afterwards. Subsequently, the latter obtained greater influence over the Kookas."

6. *Havala Singh, son of Utter Singh, caste Dhooloo Jat, Lumberdar of Khara.*—"In my village there are eight Kookas. I have seen the Soobas, Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh. They used

to come from Sealkote direction, remain a day or two, and urge people to become Kookas, as it would be beneficial to the latter. They used to strive to increase their sect. I did not hear it from the Soobas themselves, but the Kookas said that 'the Raj of the Gooroo Khalsa was coming, become Kookas, or you will be sorry.' This was a common rumour. The Soobahs initiated women. I don't know anything else, but the Kookas certainly talk nonsense. Some people have even now given out that the Gooroo Sahib (Ram Singh) has come back, and went to Umritsur, and then returned to Bhainee, although there is a European guard over him."

7. *Heera Singh, son of Sobha Singh, caste Verikh Jat of Shamsha.* - "I know Brahma Singh Soobah. In Kartick 1927 Sumbut (October 1870), or about a year and -a-half ago, a meeting was held of Kookas in the house of Tekh Singh, putwaree of my village, and then Brahma Singh came and remained two days, and made 20 converts; about 100 Kookas assembled. Brahma Singh was telling people -'Now is the time, become Kookas, or the time will come when you will run after me, and I will not name (i.e., receive) you. In a short time my Raj will come, and those who don't become Kookas will regret it then.' He strove to increase the number of his punth' or sect, and used to say, 'in two and -a-half months the Gooroo Sahib's Raj will come, so don't build, or lend money, or spend it; keep money with you, it will be useful.' Again, in Jeth Sumbut 1928 (June and July 1871) he came to the marriage of Juggut Singh's daughter. Two hundred or two hundred and fifty Kookas assembled. At that time, too, he used to say the same. The boy who was to be married was not a Kooka, and Brahma Singh said he should not get the girl betrothed to him unless he become a Kooka, and then initiated him. Besides my village, Brahma Singh used to come to Vurrun, Jhubber, Guddanwalla, Bubber, Ogund, Moodar, Kureal; and I heard that he told all people to become Kookas. About the time of the butcher murders, I recollect there was a marriage at Chochurkana in the family of Amreek Singh Kooka, and he went there, and also to Vurrun but I did not see him. The putwaree of my village, Tekh Singh, went to see him, and told that Baba Ram Singh's martyrs had killed the butchers. It was about

this time I heard that Brahma Singh had made Kookas of women at Vurrun, and ordered them to wear the "kutch." This, too, I heard from Tekh Singh, Putwaree, and that Brahma Singh told the women that they were to obtain martyrdom, and should not remain naked; that he forbade lending and borrowing, and ordered money to be kept ready in cash. Besides Brahma Singh, Rajah Singh of Trandi and Jotha Singh of Dhapye in the Sealkote district came once. They used to make Kookas also."

8. *Prem Singh, son of Huzoora Singh, caste Bhattia, of Shamska.*—His story is much to the same effect as Heera Singh's.

9. *Kahn Singh, son of Mehr Singh, caste Jat, Lumberdar of Guddanwalla.*—"My village contains two¹ Kookas, but one wants to recant. Five or six times Brahma Singh came. Jotha Singh came four times. They used to live in the Sealkote District, from whence they used to come. Jewun Singh Kooka is my brother. Generally there were meetings or assemblies for reading the "Grunth," but the Soobas came to a marriage also. The last time Brahma Singh came in Bhaddon (August) Sambut 1928 (1871), and remained a fortnight. He made the two Kookas in my village. He used to preach to people to become Kookas."

10. *Jameyut Rae, son of Kishen Chund, Putwaree of Kureal, caste Nunda Khultree.*—"I was first Putwaree of Ghannoola. Four years ago I was transferred to Kureal. About that time, Brahma Singh Kooka, Sooba, came to Kureal, and spoke in my presence, urging the Kookas to be strict in their devotions, and also others who went to see him. The Kookas with him were urging others to become Kookas. Of the four Kookas in my village, Heera Singh and Jewun Singh were initiated by Sooba Jotha Singh, and Goordit Singh and Chutter Singh were initiated by Brahma Singh. I heard that the Soobas were trying to propagate Kookaism. I have not seen Jotha Singh Sooba, but heard he used to come from the Sealkote direction to Vurrun, Jhubber, Choochurkara, Guddanwalla, and other villages where there are Kookas, and urge

1. Note by District Superintendent. One is his own brother, Jewn Singh.

people to become Kookas. I heard that last year in Har, Sawun, or Bhadon (I am not sure which month) Brahma Singh came to Vurrun, and initiated women."

11. *Nehal Singh, son of Tekh Singh, caste Jat Verikh, Lumberdar of Kureal.*¹ "In my village there are the following Kookas, viz:-

1. Goordit Singh, Jat Verikh.
2. Chutter Singh, Jat Verikh.
3. Jewun Singh, Zaryar Bhac, Dharmasalia.
4. Heera Singh, Khuttree.

They were initiated by Brahma Singh Sooha four or five years ago at Jhubber and Guddanwalla. Three or four years ago Brahma Singh, who was then *en route* from Gudanwalla to Vurrun, came to my village, and put up for one night with Goordit Singh, aforesaid. In my presence he did not tell anyone to become Kooka, but his followers were urging people to join the sect, and Brahma Singh appeared glad to hear them do this. It was Brahma Singh's object to make Kookas, because, wherever the sect existed, he would be well received. I don't know Brahma Singh's native place. He used to come from the Sealkote direction, where he lived. I know Sooba Jotha Singh. He lives at Dhopye in the Sealkote District, and used to come from thence. I have seen him; he used to urge people to become Kookas. He passed my village once sometime ago. Of the four Kookas named by me, two, were converted by Brahma Singh, and two by Jotha Singh. About two years ago I saw Jotha Singh of Goojranwalla in the Havalee of the late Sirdar Huree Singh Nulwa, at the marriage of the daughter of Bhae Lehna Singh Giljahakia², and also going to the Dharmasala Thattiaran. He was putting up with Lehna Singh in the above Havalee. Both Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh used to convert to Kookaism. I heard that in Har or Sawun or Bhadon, Sumbut 1928 (last hot season), but I am not sure in which month, Brahma Singh came to Vurrun."

1. This man is believed to be a Kooka himself.

2. This man is late Sirdar Huree Singh's son-in-law, and is called indifferently Sirdar on account of his connection with the Nulwa family, and Bhae in consequence of his religious tendencies.

12. *Tilokh Singh, son of Utter Singh, caste Jat Verikh, Zaildar of Kalokoh.*—"My father, the late Utter Singh, was ten years Police Zaildar, and I have succeeded him as revenue Zaildar, have never seen Brahma Singh Sooba. At Vurrun, two *koss* distant from my village, at Jubber, five *koss* distant from my village, he used to come to meetings and marriages from the Sealkote direction, and urge people to become Kookas, or they would be sorry, as the Gooroo Khalsas' Raj was close at hand. He made some women of Vurrun Kookas, and put the "Kutch" on them. Whenever he came he converted five or six persons, and Jotha Singh accompanied him also. After the butcher murders at Umritsur, Brahma Singh came to Vurrun, and said that the Gooroo Sahib's "Shaeedas" (martyrs) had killed them. I heard this from residents of Vurrun and Jhubber. The Soobas above-named were always anxious to increase the number of their sect; and Brahma Singh Sooba used to talk a lot of nonsense which appeared calculated to create mischief."

13. *Tukht Singh, son of Dharma Singh, caste Jat Verikh, Zaildar of Mirza.*—"I never saw Brahma Singh Sooba. Formerly Utter Singh of Kalokoh and I were joint Zaildars of Police; and heard from residents of Kalokoh, which is two *koss* distant from Vurrun, that Brahma Singh came a good deal to the latter village, and also to Jhubber, Moodar, Jhamke, Shamsha, and preached to the people, urging them to become Kookas, and talked nonsense. I mentioned this to Colonel Babbye, Deputy Commissioner, and Major Wall, District Superintendent, and to the Settlement Officer; they said "we don't see any 'fisad' in this." Afterwards, or for the last one and-a-half or two years, these Kookas became more demonstrative; and I continued to hear that "Brahma Singh was propagating his doctrines, and saying that the "Raj" (Government) of the Gooroo Sahib would come soon. Brahma Singh invariably came when there were religious assemblies or marriages among the Kookas. After the Umritsur butcher murders, I heard that Brahma Singh had come to Vurrun and given out that the "Gooroo Sahib's martyrs had killed them," and that he had then made women Kookas, and put the "Kutch" (short drawers) on them. From the beginning I considered this sect was likely to create disturbances. I

never cared to hear their sayings. I don't now Jotha Singh and the other Soobas. Brahma Singh used to come on tours from the Sealkot direction. I was ten years Police Zaildar."

14. *Dhoozee Chand, son of Kunhyalal, caste Khutree, Naeb Canoongoe of Shekhopoora*.—"I used to go on inspection, duty to the villages of Jubber, Vurrun, Choochurkana, & c, and used to hear the Kookas talking that some day the "Raj" of the 'Khalsa Sahib' would come; and that the order of God, in this respect, was near fulfilment. The real intentions of this sect do not appear to be good: and I heard from several persons that Brahma Singh, the head man of this sect, had several times come to Vurrun, Jhubber, and Choochurkana, and that his orders were obeyed by his followers, and whatever they said or did really emanated from Brahma Singh himself who initiated many persons, and was an active propagandist. Brahma Singh also visited Moodar, Jhamke, Ogund. I never saw either Brahma Singh or Jotha Singh."

15. *Goordit Singh, son, of Tukhi Singh, Zaildar of Mirza*.—"I never saw Brahma Singh. My father was first foudjdar Zaildar, and is now revenue Zaildar. I used to go about his "Zail" and hear that at Shamsha, Moodar, Vurrun, Jhubber, Ogund, Jhamke, Gudanwalla and Bubber, he (Brahma Singh) was a visitor, and held religious assemblies, and attended Kooka marriages. It was notorious that he used to say, 'now is the time, become Kookas, and those who don't will be sorry, as in two and -a-half months the Raj (Government) of the Gooroo Khalsa is to come'. This the Kookas used to openly say, and profess that it was the firman or mandate of their Gooroo Sahib. When the Umritsur butcher murder took place, Brahma Singh first came to Choochurkana, and then to Vurrun, and I heard that he had given out that the Gooroo Sahib's martyrs had killed the butchers, and that in a short time the 'Badshahee' or Government of the Gooroo Kookahal would come; at that time those who are not Kookas would be sorry. About the same time he made Kookas of women at Vurrun, and told the people to collect money, as the time was close at hand. I know nothing of Soobas Rajah Singh and Jotha Singh."

16. *Kahn Singh, son of Dhunna Singh, caste Jat Verikh, brother of Tukhi Singh, Zaildar*.—Corroborates his brother

Goordit Singh's statement. —Vide No. 15.

17. *Manga, son of Doonee Chund, caste Jat Verikh, Lumberdar of Mirza.*— Corroborates the statement of the two preceding.

18. *Chey Singh, son of Utter Singh, caste Jat Verikh, resident of Kaloke, brother of Tilokh Singh Zaildar.*— "I know Brahma Singh. My late father, Utter Singh, was a Police-Zaildar. About a year and nine months ago, I went with my father to Jhamke, where there was a religious assembly of Kookas. Brahma Singh Sooba was present and preaching, and urging people to become Kookas, saying that those who did not would be sorry hereafter; that the 'Raj' (Government) of the Khalsa was to come. I believed him to be talking nonsense. After this I did not see him again, but heard that he visited Vurrun, Jhubber, Guddenwala, Ogund, and last Har (June and July) he came to Vurrun, and made women Kookas, and had them to wear 'Jangias.' I well recollect that about then, the butcher murders occurred, and heard that Brahma Singh gave out that they were killed by the Gooroo Sahib's Shaheeds, that those who did not become Kookas would regret it, for he would not initiate them hereafter, that he prohibited lending money or trading, and ordered cash to be kept in hand, as it would be useful. Vurrun is two *kass* distant from my village, to which Kookas used to come, so all this was notorious in it. I don't know Jotha Singh and Rajah Singh."

19. *Rajroop, son of Sidhoo, caste Jat Verikh, Lumberdar of Kaloke.*— "I never saw Brahma Singh, and heard nothing more than Cheyt Singh has already mentioned."

20. *Munsa Singh Kooka, son of Dewan Singh, caste Zargar of Muttooa.*— "Six years ago, at Saensra, near Goojranwalla, I was converted by Sooba Jotha Singh, and then remained with him as his personal attendant, for two and a-half years. Jotha Singh is by caste a Koomhar, and resident of Dhappye in the Sealkote District; he remained mostly in that district, but used to come on tour in this district, and attend weddings and persuade people to become Kookas; he was bent on increasing

the 'punth' (sect). After this, for one and-a-half years, I was Brahma Singh's Khidmutgar or personal attendant; he is a Jat, but I don't know his parentage and native place nor did I ever ask him. He was, however, formerly an 'Ondasee Nanga Fakeer and a Mahunt or Priest in that sect, and belonged to the Dehra Brahma Boola Fakeers of Umritsur, which is the eastern corner of the Umritsur Temple. Ten or twelve years ago, Brahma Singh was initiated at Huzroh by Baba Balukh Singh, who made him over to Goo-roo Ram Singh, and told him to work for a living and to devote the proceeds of his labour to charity; so at Sealkot, near the Gharbi talao, Brahma Singh used to live by grinding grain; he remained there one year, and then Baba Ram Singh made him a Mahunt and Sooba; he lived mostly after this at Chuk Rehun, Thanna Dharmkot, Zillah Sealkote, with one Mussamut Bhagan, a Kooka woman of the Jat tribe; and sometimes he stayed at Oogoo Chuk and Gilwalla in the Sealkote District, in which he made tours. From the Sealkote District he used to come on occasional tours to the Goojranwalla District to attend weddings and religious meetings. Both the Soobas (Jotha Singh and Brahma Singh), when they came on the Goojranwalla side, used to put up with the following persons, viz.

1. At Muttoo, with me and Shurram Singh.
2. At Ogund, I forget our hosts' names.
3. At Kharra, with Gunda Singh, zemindar.
4. At Guddanwalla, with Jewun Singh, Mallce Jat,
5. At Eesurkeh, with the Jat zemindars.
6. At Moodar, with Sawun Singh.
7. At Chooberkana, with Amreck Singh, Jat Verikh.
8. At Bubber, with Goolab Singh, carpenter.
9. At Jhubber, with Gunda Singh.
10. At Chuk Hindoo, with Utter Singh, lumberdar.¹

1. Great grand father of famous Namdhari writer Sant Taran Singh Vehmi. 2. Taran Singh Vehmi's father's name was Sant Singh S/o Dial Singh (Sr. No. 4) and Dial Singh's father was Attar Singh Lambardar of Hindu Chak, district Gujranwala. (Sr. No.3, page 116-Kukas of Note in the Punjab. —editor.

11. At Saensra, with Shere Singh, Arora.
12. At Bynka Cheema, don't recollect.
13. At Saharun Chultha, with Utter Singh and Goolab Singh lumberdars.
14. At Phumeh Seræ, with Ludda Singh and Sadho Singh.
15. At Goojranwalla, with Bhae or Sirdar Leana Singh Girjhakia. (son-in-law of the late Sirdar Hurree Singh Nulva.)
16. Killa Dedar Singh, with Kahn Singh and Mohur Singh, Lumberdars.
17. At Jhamke, don't recollect.
18. At Shamsha, with Tekh Singh, putwaree.
19. At Kamoky, with Jodh Singh, carpenter.
20. At Verrua, with Boolaka Singh, Jat.
21. At Ruttalee, with Hem Singh, Zargar.
22. At Manes, with Goormookh Singh, Arora.
- 22A. At Rajah, with Bhole Singh, Koomahar.
- 22B. Thatta Manuk, with Boolaka Singh, Tarkhan.
23. Maree Bindran, with a woman. Can't recollect her name.
24. At Bowreh, with ditto ditto.
25. At Khurruk, with Cheyt Singh, Jat.
26. Mulkeh, with Baba Veyd.
27. At Landeh, with Dhay Singh, Mihra.
28. At Oodch, with Bhugwas Singh, Putwaree.
29. At Manawalla, with Sirdar Heera Singh Man, and Rae Man Singh Man. (This village is in Sealkot District.)
30. At Mogul Chuk, with ditto ditto.
31. At Chuhul, with a carpenter Sikh. Forget his name.
32. At Kot Faroshah, with a Khuttree. Don't recollect his name.
33. At Thabal, with Shurum Singh, Jat.
34. At Philloke, with Man Singh Nihang, Arora.
35. At Vunneekee, with Futteh Singh, Zargar.

At following places I forget the names of our hosts:

1. Lallehpour.
2. Buddo Rutta.
3. Salehpour.
4. Hurpoke.
5. Noorpour.
6. Nokhur.
7. Kot Bhowanee Dass.

In all these villages there were religious assemblies from time to time; and both the Soobas (Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh) used to attend there, and preach the Kooka doctrines and urge the people to be converted to them.

After this, I left Brahma Singh and wandered about as a Fakcer. When the row occurred recently at Bhainee, I was there, and was employed as one of Gooroo Ram Singh's cooks. The Gooroo Ram Singh Sahib and the following Soobas were arrested and sent to Piragh (Allahabad), viz :

1. Baba Lukka Singh.
2. Kahn Singh, Nihung.
3. Sahib Singh.
4. Hookma Singh.
5. Arur Singh, Umritsaria.
6. Sirdar Mungul Singh, Puttialawalla.
7. Baba Brahma Singh.
8. Baba Gopal Singh
9. Baba Khazan Singh.
10. Baba Joga Singh.
11. Baba Jowahir Singh.
12. Baba Pahara Singh.

1. Serial No. 8, 9 and 10 were not deported to Allahabad. Suba Malluk Singh and Man Singh were also deported. —editor.

I and some other Kookas were arrested while trying to cross at the Phillour ferry, and confined for eleven days in the fort of Phillour, from whence we were eventually released and came home. In this Elaka there are the following Mahunts (priests):

1. Goolab Singh, carpenter of Bubber.
2. Boolaka Singh, Jat of Vurrun.

With authority to marry, & c. in Sealkote District, there are the Soobas-

1. Rajah Singh of Trandi, Thannah Mearee.
2. Jotha Singh of Dhapye, Thannah Pusroor.
3. Jumeyut Singh of Gilwalla.
4. Goorchurrun Singh, of Chuk Ram Das, Thannah Sattru, Zillah Sealkote.

"The first two are propagandist. When we went to Umritsur we used to stay with Bhae Arur Singh, Tarkhan Sooba of Umritsur. When the Umritsur butcher murders occurred, I was at Barmalleepooru, four or five *koss* from Turrin Tarun in the Umritsur District, and I heard that Brahma Singh was either at Purjigiraon or Moondakeh, within three or four *koss* of Umritsur. I don't know where Jotha Singh was. The Soobas Rajah Singh, Jotha Singh, Jumeyut Singh, and Goorchurrun Singh, are at their villages, and now only initiate who go to them of their own accord."

21. *Tekh Singh, Kocka, son of Futeh Singh, caste Arora, Putwarae of Shamsha.* "Four years ago I was initiated at Suntpoora near Shamsha by Sooba Jotha Singh. Brahma Singh Sooba was present at the time, and confirmed the initiation. The true Gooroo is certainly Baba Ram Singh, of Bhainee. I don't know Brahma Singh's parentage and native place. Some people said he was a Jat Zemindar, others that he was Brahmin. I asked him about his home; he said he had none. Jotha Singh is by caste a Koomhar, and lives at Dhapye in the Sealkote District; he always live there and come here on a occasional tours. Jumeyut Singh, of Gilwalla, Zillah Sealkote, is also a Sooba; so is Rajah Singh of Trandi in the same District. These two and Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh were the Soobas of the Sealkote and Goojranwalla Districts, but all lived in the former district and came on tours to the latter. All are propagandists except Jumeyut Singh. Following are 'Mahunts' (priests), and can marry, & c.;

1. Boolaka Singh, Jat of Vurrun.
2. Goolab Singh, carpenter of Bubber.

But they don't convert people to Kookaism. I don't know the following Soobas, but am aware that they exist, viz.:

1. Tekh Singh.
2. Jowahir Singh.
3. Naraen Singh.
4. Soodh Singh.
5. Gopal Singh.
6. Lukka Singh.
7. Sahib Singh.
8. Futteh Singh.
9. Arno Singh, Umritsaria, Tarkhan. (Suba Rur Singh—editor.)
10. Pahara Singh.

I don't know their residences and parentage, or the districts or jurisdictions held by them. Brahma Singh, Jotha Singh, and Rajah Singh were always zealous propagandists, but not Jumeyut Singh. They never had any bad intentions; or said anything amiss."

No. 22. Shurram Singh, Kooka son of Utter Singh, caste Zargar, of Bhae, Muttoo.—I have been a Kooka two years, was initiated at Gudaurwalla by Sooba Jotha Singh; had never worshipped Gooroo Ram Singh since my initiation, so went to Bhainee just before the disturbance. Was at Bhainee four or five days when the row took place. Was arrested and confined for eleven days in the fort of Phillour. Of the Soobas who were arrested then, I only know Brahma Singh, who used to live at Chuk Rehan, Zillah Sealkote, with Mussamut Bhagan Kooke, and sometimes at Gilwalla in the same district. In this district the Soobas Brahma Singh and Jutha Singh used to come on visits of pleasure, and to look after the Kookas. I have been a short time a Kooka, and don't know much; but Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh were zealous propagandists.

22 A. *Teja Singh, son of Utter Singh, brother of preceding,* tells a similar story.

23. *Inspector Fuzul Kadir Khan, son of Mahomed Khan,*

caste Pathan, native of Hoti Murdan, Pergunnah Yusufzye, Zillah Peshawar, states—In June 1871, I came on inspection duty to Shekhopoor. The Umritsur butcher murders had occurred. Inquiries were going on. At Shekhopoor, Chnohorkana, Vurrun, in talking to the Kookas and Lumberdars, I learnt that Sooba Brahma Singh was at Vurrun, and holding religious assemblies, in which, during his preachings, Brahma Singh told the Kookas that whatever "firmans" (mandates) the Gooroo Sahib had given or predicted, their fulfilment was close at hand, and some had occurred, others were about to occur; that at Umritsur the sin of cow-killing had continued, and in the night an assemblage of Gooroo Ram Singh Sahib's martyrs had appeared supernaturally, and punished the butchers in the slaughter yard, where they were sleeping; that the proof of their supernatural origin was this, that tracks of men and horses were found in the slaughter yard, but not out of it; that supernatural forces helped the "Suth Gooroo", that "Namdharis" (Kookas) ought to be firm in their belief and convictions; that whoever was initiated now, this was the time, afterwards, they would not be received and would be sorry; that women who had been initiated should wear no jewels or ornaments, nor dress their hair in top knots: but wear the "kutch" or short drawers, for the period for martyrdom was close at hand, women would become martyrs also, and thus escape exposure of their persons when they were suffering martyrdom; that purchasing and selling, and lending and building should be stopped, and no money thus expended, for cash would be required; that in a short time, in other places, where the sin of cow-killing continued, the sinners would be fully punished by the Gooroo's martyrs; that in the disturbances to come, the "Suth Gooroo's" prestige would increase, for "takeeree and raj" (religious profession combined with secular power) was his destiny, and he was the possessor of the "raj" or government; that whoever came to Brahma Singh (i.e., the Kooka sect) would receive rest, and those who did not would regret; that in Sumbut 1928, the weapons of the "Namdharis" would be clubs and axes or hatchets, and in Sumbut 1929, all weapons of war would be given to them, and they would want for nothing; that

once there would be disturbances in various places, but Kookas should remain steadfast, for that severe time would soon pass away, and under every tree "akal," "akal," would be shouted. This news I reported to the District Superintendent. Brahma Singh Sooba and Jotha Singh Sooba were appointed by Baba Ram Singh to the charge of the Sealkote and Goojranwalla Districts in 1865, the latter in subordination to the former, but both have, from the beginning, been propagandists in both districts. Jotha Singh is by caste a "koomhar" (potter) and belongs to the village of Dhappye in the Sealkote District.

Brahma Singh's native place and parentage is not known to me. In some places he gave out that he was a Brahmin, at others a Jat zamindar but he lived with Muszamat Bhagan Kooke, a woman of Chuk Rahan; Thannah Dharrankot, Zillah Sealkote, and some time he stayed at Chuk Hindoo and Sungree in Zillah Sealkote, but mostly at Chuk Rahan. He came on tours in this district, sometimes alone and at other times accompanied by Jotha Singh. In following villages they held religious assemblies, viz.:

1.	Hindoo Chuk	Thannah Goojranwalla.
2.	Saensra	"
3.	Goojranwalla	Khas.
4.	Bynka Cheema	Thannah Nagurabad.
5.	Ruttalee	Thannah Kamoky.
6.	Phameh Serai	"
7.	Muttoo Bhae Keh	"
8.	Kamoky Khas	"
9.	Rajah	"
10.	Manes	"
11.	Rubber	"
12.	Guddanwalla	"
13.	Thutteh Manuk	"
14.	Kureal	"
15.	Mulkeh	"
16.	Khurra	"

17.	Hurpoke	Thannah Kamoky.
18.	Kot Bhowanee Das	Thannah Goojranwalla.
19.	Killa Dedar Singh	Thannah Buddoky.
20.	Shamsha	Thannah Shekhopoora.
21.	Vurrun	
22.	Jhubber	
22A.	Moodar	
23.	Jhumkeh	
24.	Saharun Chatta	Thannah Akalpurh.
25.	Va-erkeh	"
26.	Ogund	Thannah Khanga.
27.	Toondeh Gooroo	
28.	Choocharkana	
29.	Vuneekee	Thannah Hafizabad.

And also in some other small villages. Since 1863 I was aware that the Kooka sect had bad intentions, and the state of affairs described at Vurrun. I heard from*** and Amreek Singh, Kooka of Choocharkana, Hya Singh lumberdar of Vurrun, Heera Singh lumberdar of Jhubber, Gobinda Brahmin, chowkeedar of Serial Jhubber, Shahbal Khan, lumberdar of Jhnadiala, Shere Khan, Heera Singh, putteedar of Shamsha, Kirpa Ram Brahmin, of Kureal, Kahn Singh, lumberdar of Kot Runjeet, Uttera, putteedar of Guddanwalla. Besides this I cannot recollect now word for word what I reported at the time; but the real motive of the preachings tended to disturbances. At Vurrun, Jhubber, and other adjacent villages, Brahma Singh made about 30 converts, both men and women.

GOOJARANWALLA;
The 29th March 1872.

E. J. CHARD,
District Supdt. of Police.

1. Names purposely omitted, E.C.

No. 49, dated 5th April 1872.

From—E.L. CHARD, ESQ., District Superintendent of Police, Goojranwalla.

To—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

In continuation of No. 44, dated 29th ultimo, submits further depositions regarding notoriety of Soobas Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh.

24. *Bysakhee, son of Ram Chund, caste Jat Her, Lumberdar of Kot Bhowanee Das.*—There are about 27 Kookas in my village. The first Kookas in my village were made by Gooroo Ram Singh at Killa Dedar Singh. After this Sooba Brahma Singh came to my village three or four times. He came from the Sealkote direction (where he lived) and had religious meetings, in which he used to urge people to become Kookas, as the Gooroo, Maharaj Ram Singh's reign would come, and whoever joined the sect would do well. Brahma Singh's words or conversation appeared absurd to me, so I paid no attention to it. The Kookas of my village used to say that it was profitable to adopt their tenets. No zemindars (Jats) or landholders of my village became Kookas, so the Sooba could not talk much in it; and I had warned Brahma Singh and the Kookas that if any disturbance occurred in my village, I would arrest them. I don't know anything of the other Soobas.

25. *Urfun Singh, the second Lumberdar of the same village.*—Corroborates the above.

26. *Goolab, son of Mahomed Sahib, Lumberdar of Bootala Sharm Singh.*—In my village there are three Kookas. None of the Soobas ever stayed in my village. Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh, Soobas, used to pass through my village on their way from the Sealkote direction to villages in this district, and on their return to their homes in the Sealkote District, and they generally had 40 or 50 followers with them. Once Gooroo Ram Singh passed also, accompanied by a great crowd. The Soobas Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh were in the habit of urging all persons, whether Hindoo or Mahomedans, to become Kookas, and of telling them to pluck up and destroy the tobacco fields, knock down tombs and "samads," so even in my village the Kookas threw down a "khanga"

(shrine). Both Soobas were in the habit of saying, "now is the time, he converted, or you will be sorry hereafter, see what will happen." I heard that they had converted some women also, and used to say the "Khalsa" (Sikh government) will come again, and the sect will number lakhs. The religious meetings were, I was told, held at Saensra and Chuk Hindoo; and, indeed, I used to see them myself when going to and coming from Goozranwalla. Both the Soobas (Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh) made great exertions to increase the number of their sect. I don't know the Soobas Rajah Singh, Jumeyut Singh, and Goorchurn Singh.

27. *Mohomed Buksh, the second Lumberdar of the same village*—Corroborates the above.

28. *Havulve, son of Hookam Chund, cast Gooraya Jat, Lumberdar of Chuk Hindoo.*—There are six or seven Kookas (men) in my village. Brahma Singh visited my village often. Jotha Singh Sooba first converted my brother, Lumberdar Utter Singh, then Brahma Singh followed, and made other conversions. Gooroo Ram Singh came once. Both these Soobas did not reside in this district but came from the Sealkote direction; they visited my village eight or nine times and pressed and persuaded people to become Kookas, and warned them that if they were not converted they would be sorry for it, and said, 'see, what will happen.' I never understood the meaning of these latter words. Brahma Singh also converted four or five women, put "jangias" (or the 'kutch') on them, and openly said, 'I will not eat food cooked by women who are not Kookas.' Both Soobas made exertions to increase the number of their sect."

29. *Nehal Singh, son of Chunda Singh cast Gooraya Jat, Lumberdar of Saensra.*—There are 13 Kookas (males) and five or six female Kookees in my village. Sooba Jotha Singh of Dhapye in the Sealkote District made the first conversion in my village. Afterwards Soobas Jotha Singh and Brahma Singh used to come together from the Sealkote direction, and say 'whoever becomes Kooka, will receive peace or rest and comfort, and those who don't will be sorry, for the 'Raj' (Government or Supremacy)

is to come.' I don't know where Brahma Singh was when the Umritsur butcher murders occurred; but the Kookas then said that in consequence of cow-killing the Gooroo Sahib's 'Shaheeds' or martyrs had killed the butchers.

30. *Jehan Khan, son of Bukhl Boolund, caste Bootur, Zaildar of Ferozewalla.*—"In my 'Zail' there are only Kookas of Datawallee. But in the Zaildaree of Arra, there are numerous Kookas at Chuk Hindoo and Saensra, where religious meetings took place. Brahma Singh Sooba used to come from the Sealkote direction, pass my village with a following of from 80 to 100 persons. I never spoke to him, but his followers used to say that the 'partab' or prestige and authority of the 'Sath Gooroo' would come to pass; their real meaning was that their Gooroo's 'raj' or government would come, or be established. I heard that this Sooba made exertions to increase the number of Kookas. Some of his followers plucked up the tobacco of my village. In talking to the Kookas regarding the Umritsur butcher massacre, they replied that the Gooroo's martyrs, consisting of five sowers or horse-men, had done this deed. I don't know any of the other Soobas."

31. *Bussunt Singh, son of Sirdar Futteh Singh Man, caste Man Jat, of Mogul Chuk.*—"My father is the Honorary Magistrate of Goojranwalla and revenue 'Zaildar' of Tuppeh Mogul Chuk. I act as my father's revenue agent, and in visiting his 'Zail' know that there are Kookas at Kot Paroshah, Man, Killa Mera Singh, Mogul Chuk. My relative, Sirdar Heera Singh Man and Rae Man are also Kookas; they live at Manawalla, Thannah Meance, Zillah Sealkote, but having lands in Mogul Chuk, they often come to my village also. No religious meeting of Kookas ever took place in my village; but, on the death of Mahtaab Singh Kooka, brother of Bhog Singh Constable, Kookas assembled at my village, and rejoiced at his death. Sirdar Heera Singh was then present in the village, Sooba Brahma Singh I never saw in my own village, but I saw him several times at Goojranwalla, and heard that he and his followers predicted that the Gooroo Sahib's 'raj' would come. Brahma Singh exerted himself to increase the number of his sect. When the Umritsur butcher murders occurred, the Kookas said the Gooroo Sahib's

Shaheeds or martyrs had committed them. Taba Singh Nae, a Kooka of my village, was servant with Sirdar Heera Singh at Manawalla. I don't know who converted him; but as Sirdar Heera Singh and Goomo Ram Singh were good friends, I think the latter converted Taba Singh.

R.H. WALL, Major,

The 4th April 1872.

District Superintendent of Police.

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APPENDIX—B.
A/s 10

POLICE DEPARTMENT, FERROZPORE DISTRICT.

Particulars regarding the under-mentioned Kooka Soldiers who were lately deported to Allahabad.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Name	Percentage	Residence	Village	Thannah	District	Profession or calling	Circle of Division usually in his charges as a Sowda	Character and influence as a Sowda	Names of known respectable persons who will vouch for the notoriety of these men and to the fact stated.	General remarks and additional particulars not provided for in columns 3 to 10 of this statement.
1. Soth Singh	-	Disapore	Disapore	Ten Tann	Uranisur	Quartermaster	Sowda of Disapore, Uranisur.	A mixed Sowda	Motab Singh, lumberjar of Choti Hassan, Ram Singh, Dyal Singh, and Goolab Singh, lumberjars of Salsadi.	Particulars of this man can be obtained better at Uranisur.
2. Roor Singh	-	Disapore	Disapore	Disapore	Disapore	Carpenter	In charge of Uranisur	Disapore	Goolab Singh and Ram Singh, lumberjars of Salsadi, Kanki, lumberjars of Tulowadi, Bhatu Potra.	Ditto ditto
3. Lakha Singh	-	Chik	Chik	Mulair Kolla	Kanki	Fugitive	In charge of whole of Mulair Kolla	Disapore	Disapore	Particulars to be obtained from Mulair Kolla. Not known here.
4. Kahu Singh Nihang	-	Chik	Chik	Mulair Kolla	Kanki	Fugitive	In charge of whole of Mulair Kolla	Disapore	Disapore	Disapore
5. Daul Singh	-	Chik	Chik	Mulair Kolla	Kanki	Fugitive	In charge of whole of Mulair Kolla	Disapore	Disapore	Disapore
6. Jowhar Singh	-	Chik	Chik	Mulair Kolla	Kanki	Fugitive	In charge of whole of Mulair Kolla	Disapore	Disapore	Disapore

* Banwali pore - editor.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
7.	Mallock Singh	Boddam Singh	Bhalewalia	Mochal- sar..	Fence- post..	Chivhar..	Was in charge of Mochal and Fuchla	A great Sooba at one time, hardly not much thought of	Gochab Singh, Karam Singh, Dyal Singh, hundreds of Saidoley, and Kaketa, hundreds of Tulwundie, Patitola	Was engaged in the rice that took place in this district in 1869, when a party of police was sent out to arrest some 44 Kukas.
8.	Man Singh..	Makhar (Singh)	Saidoley..	Bagah- porena.	Ditto..	Paper..	Had charge of Saidoley as a Sooba.	A bad character and notorious Kooka of great influence.	A man of influence amongst Kukas, and a dangerous Kooka.	Was a notorious well-joined to Kooka cause, was present at Mochal and Mohar Keta in mid-break time in January 1872; came back after it to village. This man was always with Ram Singh.
9.	Hodana Singh..	-	(Shroo..	Bhale..	Patitola..	Mohar..	In charge of Piboo and Patitola.	Sooba..	Dial Singh, Gochab Singh, and Ram Singh of Saidoley.	This man was always with Ram Singh.
10.	Palan Singh..	-	Mochal..	Diala	Loodana.	Paper..	In charge of no particular district, but col- lects tribute from Ram Singh.	Sooba, noted..	The above-mentioned, also Kaka of Tulwundie.	Passage to be got from Loodana.
11.	Sida Mangal Singh, of Rapun	-	Rapun..	Dito..	Ditto..	Servant..	No particular title.	Much Kooka..	Ditto ditto..	Relieved of Rajah of Punjab; made over all his property to Ram Singh.

R.H. WALL, Major,
District Superintendent of Police

FERROPORE:
The 10th March, 1872.

APPENDIX—B

No. 11.

[Confidential.]

No. 98. dated the 20th March 1872.

Memo. from—MAJOR R.H. WALL, District Superintendent of Police,
Ferozepore.

To—COLONEL HUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

FORWARDS herewith copy of histories of three Kooka
Soobas of this district, sent to Allahabad as below :

1st.—Maun Singh.

2nd.—Jowahir Singh.

3rd.—Mullook Singh.

*Maun Singh, Sooba, Village Saydoke, Thanna
Bagahpoorana.*

1st.—Was born in Saydoke.

2nd.—Lives there.

3rd.—Used to cultivate, and turned faqueer. He had his family
living with him in Saydoke; they were not Kookas, and he was not
wealthy.

4th.—He was for years making Kookas.

5th.—He made them from all castes by permission from
Ram Singh and attend all fairs and gathering of the people in the
district.

6th.—He was a professed Kooka.

7th.—Never was on police books for any crime; attended
fairs regularly and assemblages of Kookas.

8th.—Never was required to give security in any case.

9th.—He was constantly going back to and from Ram Singh. He sold his land and jewels some months ago¹; and was a notorious propagandist and of great influence.

10th.—Lumberdars Jowahir Singh, Soomad Bhaie; Ruttun Singh, Nehalsingh walla; Ram Singh, Saydoke; Dyal Singh, Saydoke; Sudda Singh; Sham Singh; Bugwan Singh, Budnee; Goormuk Singh, Kotla testify to the above.

The 19th March 1872.

R.H. WALL, Major,

*District Superintendent of Police,
Ferozepore.*

Jowahir Singh, Sooba.

1st.—Has been living in this district for 45 years at Bilaspore village, Thanna Bagapoorana.

2nd.—He was born at Soheli in Turn Tarn, Umritsur, and from Soheli first went to Sopo in Bagapoorana, and then to Bilaspore.

3rd.—He is not a family man and is not wealthy.

4th.—From his youth he has been a faqueer of the Neer Mullah caste; he has made numbers of disciples to the Kooka faith.

5th.—The men from whom he has made converts are zemindars, chumars, carpenters, muzbees, dhocbees, Mussulmans. Some 400 men were made Kookas by him, and he attends fairs, &c., regularly.

6th.—He makes no concealment of his religion, and is a most active propagandist.

7th.—He has never been brought up in any police case.

8th.—He has never been placed on security.

9th.—He goes constantly back and forward to Bhainee to Ram Singh.

1. Man Singh did not sell his land but mortgaged it from time to time since 1862 A.D. Also he had no jewels and never turned a faqueer. He was a family man. See his Statement dated 23rd April 1872 before J.W. Macnabb, D.C. —editor.

Jowahir Singh, Lumberdar of Soomad Bhaio; Ruttun Singh, Lumberdar, Nehalsingh walla; Dhurm Singh, Lumberdar, Belaspore; Narain Singh, Lumberdar, Macheeky; Buddun Singh, Lumberdar, Belaspore; Suda Singh, Lumberdar, Burra Ghull; Bugwan Singh, Budnee, testify to the above.

R.H. WALL, Major,

The 19th March 1872.

District Superintendent of Police,
Ferozepore

Mullook Singh, Sooba, son of Sukhun Singh, (Sukha Singh -ed.) profession cultivator, of the village of Phoolawalla, Thanna Mookutsur, District Ferozepore.

1st.—Has been 40 years in this district, came from Ablco (where he was born) in Furreedkot.

2nd.—He has been living at Phoolawalla in Thanna Mookutsur.

3rd.—He had his family and goods and cattle with him, seven months ago; he took all his family with him to the canal in Rooper and made over his land to his brothers Mullook Singh, Ehoop Singh, Shere Singh.

4th.—He used to prophesy and tell fortunes, but was not in the habit of making Kooka himself. He used however to collect men and bring them to Ram Singh to be made Kookas. He was of great influence amongst them.

5th.—Jats and zemindars were the castes he used to get made Kookas, and he was active in attending fairs and furthering the Kooka cause.

6th.—He used to proclaim he was a Kooka; latterly he concealed the fact and said he was not.

7th.—His name is not on police books as a bad character in any case.

8th.—He never was placed on security.

9th.—He used to go back and forward to Ram Singh at intervals of about six months.

10th.—Sujan Singh, Lumberdar, Mookutsur; Goolab Singh, Zaildar Goolabawalla; Khazan Singh, Lumberdar Oedykurn; Goormooke Singh, Lumberdar. Roopana, - Thanna Mookutsur, testify to the above.

R.H.WALL, Major,

The 18th March 1872.

District Superintendent of Police,
Ferozepore.

Dated the 27th March, 1872.

Demi—Official from—MAJOR R.H.WALL, District Superintendent,
Ferozepore.

To—J.C.BAILLIE, ESQ., Offg. Deputy Inspector General of Police,
Lahore Circle.

THE Mullook Singh mentioned in selected papers is the same man as in the enclosed history. He was a Sooba, but was superseded, and was released as he had not taken an active part in the riot, so he is not on police books for any thing bad.

—o—

*Memorandum by J.C.P. BAILLIE, ESQ., Offg. Deputy
Inspector General of Police, dated the 20th March 1872.*

MULLOOK SINGH was one of the party concerned in the riot got up by Mustan Singh, Kooka, in 1870, between Sirsa and Ferozepore.¹

He was arrested and sent for trial, but discharged with many others who had not committed themselves by any downright act of violence.

See selected papers for 1870, No.

—o—

1. In February 1869—editor.

APPENDIX—B.

No. 12.

1. *Khizan Singh, Toledar Bagapuranaah, of Ferozepore, dated 9th April 1872*—States that Sirdar Mungul Singh was a Sooba well known. No "halkah" was made over to him. He was nephew to Maharajah of Puttiala; he gave Ram Singh money and property. Inquiries should be made at Loodiana about his character, as he was a resident of that place.

Ram Singh, Lumberdar, Sidoke, affirms the same as above regarding Mungul Singh.

2. *Karam Singh, of Belaspore, Ferozepore District, dated 7th April 1872*—States that Jowahir Singh was a "Sooba." Before he embraced Kookaism he was a "zemindar."

The Thanna Nathana, Bagapuranaah, Chowkee Nihai Singhwala, and the "ryast" of Fridkot were in his charge for the purpose of making converts; he was a head "Sooba," and all Kookas served and obeyed him.

Gurdar Singh, Lumberdar of Sohara (Ferozepore) Anup Singh and Dhan Singh corroborate the statement of Karam Singh states that Tilokh Singh, (Mullook Singh) Kooka, was a cultivator before he embraced Kookaism; he had charge of Mukhtasar and Bangalah Fazilkah; he used to make converts; his character should be enquired into at Mukhtasar (Ferozepore). Khagilah, Lumberdar of Tullitare (Puttiala) strengthens the assertion of Karam Singh regarding Tilokh Singh.

3. *Khagilah*—States that Man Singh was a cultivator before he became a Kooka; he used to make converts in Sidoke; never bore a good character. Bhara Singh, Kooka, was known to all; he had no "halka" allotted him; he remained with the Goo-roo. Inquiries should be made at Loodiana regarding his character. Arur Singh was a Sooba, he had charge of adjoining villages of Umritsur City;

1. Sirdar Mangal Singh was never made a Suha by Goo-roo Ram Singh.—editor.

used to collect and carry news to the Gooroo; his character should be inquired into at Umritsur, as he was a resident of that place.

Lukka Singh, Sooba, used to make converts in "Mullair Kotla;" enquiries should be made at "Mullair" regarding his character. Corroborates the statement of Khizan Singh with regard to Mungul Singh "Sooba."

4. *Dial Singh*—States the same as Khagilah regarding Tilokh Singh and adds that Hookma Singh was a known "Sooba" of Pittoke (Puttiala) and its surrounding villages; he used to make converts in the above villages; he lived with Ram Singh. His character should be inquired into from Puttiala. Corroborates the statement of Khagilah regarding Man Singh "Sooba."

5. *Ram Singh, Lumberdar of Sidoke*—States the same against Man Singh, Hookma Singh, Pahara Singh, and Arur Singh, as Khagilah, Lumberdar, asserted regarding them, and corroborates the statement of Dial Singh regarding Sahib Singh.

6. *Goolab Singh, Lumberdar of Sidoke*—Asserts the same as Khagilah and Dial Singh have done about Tilokh Singh (Malluk Singh-editor), Hookma Singh, Pahara Singh, Rur Singh, and Lukha Singh, and against Sahib Singh, "Sooba," the same as Ram Singh, and against Sirdar Mungul Singh, "Sooba," the same as Khizan Singh and Ram Singh.

7. *Mehiab Singh, Lumberdar*—States that Sahib Singh and Man Singh Soobas, are well known; the former was in charge of Umritsur and the latter of Sidoke.

J.C.M., 17-4-72.



APPENDIX—B

No. 13.

No. 58, dated Lahore, the 29th May 1872.

Memo from—J. C. BAILEY, ESQ., Offg Deputy Inspector General of Police,
Lahore Circle.

To—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

HAS the honor to transmit statements of Lumberdars and Zaildars of the Phillour Tehsil regarding the conduct and demeanour of certain Kooka Soobas frequenting that part of the country.

2. Regrets that by an oversight these papers have been for some time detained by the undersigned; they were not received till some time subsequent to the submission of all particulars ascertainable regarding the Soobas deported. The statements may, however, prove useful should any further enquiries be necessary, and they are, therefore, forwarded with a view to being filed in Inspector General's Office, for future reference.

—o—

Statements of Zaildars and Lumberdars, Pergunahs Phillour and Bohseer, Zillah Jullundur on the subject of doings of Kookas to spread and help in spreading the idea that Bhaee Ram Singh is shortly to become a king, and Ram Singh's. Soobas noted below have been converting and inducing people to turn Kookas here and elsewhere, have countenanced and about the above, intending to unsettle the minds of the people and to turn them to the Kooka faith and also to fight against Government. Written this 19th April 1872, at Moron, Thanna Phillour.

1. Sahib Singh, son of Dyal Singh, Lohar of Bhorepoor, Thanna Tarun, Tarun, Zillah Umritsur.
2. Lukka Singh, son of Run Singh, Sainee,¹ formerly of Kotla near Chuk Bunoor, Puttiala.

1. Cultivator—editor.

3. Rere Singh, son of Dyal Singh, brother of No. 1, and of same place.
4. Bruma Singh, Jut.
5. Pahara Singh, son of Ranja¹ Jut of Malodh, Thanna Dhillwan, Zillah Loodiana.
6. Kanh Singh Nahung, Jut of Mouzah Chuk. Tehsil Mallair Kotla.
7. Jowahur Singh, Jut of Mouzah Bhacc Kc Durowli, Pergunnah Looeka, Zillah Ferozpur.
8. Tulckh Singh², Jut of Mouzah Holee Lall, Ilaka Mocktsur, Zillah Ferozpur.
9. Man Singh.
10. Hockma Singh, son of Suwara Singh, Jut of Mouzah Pithoo, Ilaka Phool Mcraj, Puttiala.
11. Sirdar Mungal Singh, Jut, formerly of Raepoor Ilaka, thanna Dhillwan, Zillah Loodiana.

We are not thoroughly acquainted with the histories of all the above Soobas, but know well that of Lukka Singh because he was Ram Singh Sooba in this Ilagua, and in Sumbrut 1918-19 he used to visit Motunda, Dhoulta and Moron. He was resident of Malwa and was a bachelor, and it was also said that previously to being Ram Singh's chela, he was employed in the Sher Dil Regiment, afterwards in the Jullundur Police, Thanna Bunga, entertained as a constable, which he left to become Kooka. Ram Singh, considering him smart, made him Sooba, and he made many converts, and used to be present at all the fairs, and was always ready for a quarrel. On one occasion he went to attack the zemindars of Mookha, Ilagua Phillour; was arrested with others

1. Hema—editor.

2. Malluk Singh—editor.

for riot, and a fine of Rs.1,000 imposed on the party by Mr. Saunders; but he was released; this occurred in June 1870. Lukka Singh was always with Ram Singh, and thought himself his Wuzeer. He was constantly stirring up the people to become converts to the Kooka faith, as he said Ram Singh was about to become King and rule over the North, South, East and West, and that the time of two and-a-half years, two and-a-half months and two and -a-half days was still wanting; those who would not turn would regret it, and they would not be entertained even as grass-cutters. Fools were misled, and many thought that Government respect Ram Singh, as the Thannadars and Tehsildars constantly attended him, and Lukka Singh used to say that the Europeans were aware that Ram Singh was born a prophet and would reign and convert the world. Without doubt, Lukka Singh behaved badly, destroying graves of Mahomedans, Hindoe temples, and committing other acts of destruction.

About four years ago, at the Nigaha Fair, he was rife for mischief; broke the drums of those playing there; took off the turbans of those who wore red ones, and about the same time he visited the Thanna at Mouzah Moron with 150 followers, and took off the red turbans of those who wore them and almost created a disturbance, and again at Mouzah Motinda,¹ where he created disturbance; five to seven men were severely wounded. He was always quarrelling and never was afraid. For the last year he has taken one-tenth of the produce of the land from the Kookas, saying such is the custom of Kings² and previous to outbreak at Loodiana Lukka Singh came to Motinda and told the Kookas not to sow their wheat, as it would be trodden down by horses, the making of Bhaee Ram Singh King being near at hand.

1. Village Muthadda.—editor.

2. Not true-editor.

Sahib Singh No.1, and Nahung Singh No.6, Sirdar Mungul Singh No. 11 have two or three times visited this Ilaqua, and stated that what Lukka Singh Sooba had notified to them was true and must be believed. Bhaee Ram Singh will become King; whoever adopts his faith will possess jageers, as will those in Lukka Singh, Sooba. Seeing Sirdar Mungul Singh among them induced a number to become Kookas, as he was cousin of the Maharajah of Puttiala. The Soobas all worked to one end, and Bhaee Ram Singh was the root of the evil. He informed Government that he prohibited drunkenness, fornication, theft and lying; but to Soobas he secretly stated that he was to be made King, and this was also heard that iron was being purchased, and it was intended to make up swords when occasion required by their own followers. They made friendship with the Maharajahs of Nepal, Goorkha and Jummoo, and used to keep up correspondence. He sent 2 to 400 men under a Sirdar to Jummoo Chief, who retained them, but on hearing of the disturbance turned them out. Last year they sent two buffaloes and two mules by Sahib Singh and Nahung Singh with three Kidmuttgars to Maharajah Nepal, and the Maharajah allowed Sahib Singh and Nahung Singh Rupees 5 per diem during their stay and rusued and sent for Bhaee Ram Singh one horse and "doshalla." The fact is, Bhaee Ram Singh proclaimed a great fraud, and if not now apprehended, there would assuredly have been a great disturbance, as the mind of the populace was upset and a war with Government would have resulted. We were all under the impression that the Government was aware of the goings on, and by not apprehending the Kookas must have some reason for it, so we used to listen and remain quiet.

DEVA SINGH,

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Nuggur, Pergunnah Phillour.

SIRDAR JYMUL SINGH,

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Mouzah Naila, Pergunnah Phillor.

HURNAM SINGH,

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Motunda, Pergunnah Phillour.

WUZEER SINGH,

Lumberdar, Mohroo, Pergunnah Phillour.

BHUGWANA,

Lumberdar, Newarce, Pergunnah Phillour.

JOWAHUR SINGH,

Lumberdar, and Zaildar, Khan Khanar, Pergunnah Bohseer.

MEAN HOOSHIAR SINGH,

Zaildar, Mouzah Shekhpooora, Pergunnah Bohseer.

JOALLA SINGH,

Son of Ram Singh, Zaildar, Boodhana, Pergunnah Bohseer.

UMUR SINGH,

Son of Rajoo, Jat, Khewutdar, Motunda Kulan, Pergunnah
Phillour.

The 19th April 1872.

[Abstract of vernacular statement signed by certain Lumberdars of Phillour,—by no means to be called a Translation.]

Deposition of Sirdar Yeajmul Singh Lumberdar and Zaildar of Thala, Station Phillour.—I know most of the deported Soobas,¹ but I know well Sooba Singh.² He was originally a police constable, stationed at Thanna Bungah. In Sumbut 1918 or 1919 he commenced to visit Muthendee, Dulaita, and Moran villages; he was succeeded in making many converts at the above villagees; he used also to visit fairs; he was always in trouble. In 1870 he was arrested in a riot case as ringleader, but was acquitted. He was also in trouble at Nigaha fair for taking off "cheeras" (red turbans). At Moran and Ratinda, he with about 150 followers, did the same thing which caused a riot, in which several people were injured.

Sherly before the outbreak at Loodiana, Lukka Singh came to Matherndee and advised the zemindars not to sow their crops, as they could never reap it, as Ram Singh's, troops would tread it under feet when he had his fight with Government, which would be shortly. Sahib Singh, Kan Singh, and Mungul Singh also visited this ilaqua, and told the people that what Lukka Singh had told them would come true, and that those that assisted Ram Singh would get jagheers on recommendation of the various Soobas. Lukka Singh talked seditiously, and the ignorant were led away by him, especially when they saw so much consideration paid him by Government officials, Thandars and Thanadars.

1. Sahib Sahib, Lukka Singh, Roor Singh, Brahama Singh, Pahara Singh, Kan Singh, Jowahir Singh, Mulluk Singh, Man Singh, Hookma Singh, Sirdar Mungul Singh.

2. Suba Lakha Singh—editor.

APPENDIX—C.

No. 1.

IN THE COURT OF THE MAGISTRATE OF THE
DISTRICT OF LOODIANA.

Dated the 16th April 1872.

*The information and deposition of Bhola Singh, son of Bhugela, taken on oath by me, C. Beedon, Magistrate, this 16th day of April 1872, who thus deposes—*I am a Jat Sikh, resident of Kultanee Kullan, Thannah Saneewal, District Loodiana, age 55. I am lumberdar of my village. My village lands adjoin those of Bhainee. I know the 11 Soobas,—(1) Sahib Singh, (2) Roor Singh, (3) Lukka Singh, (4) Kan Singh, (5) Burnah Singh, (6) Jowahir Singh, (7) Mullook Singh, (9) Hookma Singh, (10) Pahara Singh, and (11) Sirdar Mungul Singh. I know these men, by their names and appearances, these last eleven years. They had been appointed permanently by the Gooroo Ram Singh to be soobas or lieutenants. Bhaee Ram Singh had intended ultimately to have 22 soobas, corresponding with the Mogul dynasty. The duties imposed on these soobas were to go about preaching Kookaism and making converts. The promises held out to them were that so soon as Ram Singh reigned he would make his soobas governors of provinces; for instance, I know that Sirdar Mungul Singh, the 11th sooba was promised Puttiala. I have personal experience of the ways of these soobas. They have tried very hard to induce me and my village to turn Kookas, first by promises next by threats. The soobas always described the ruling power as the "dust" (bitter enemies), and the Kooka Gooroo, as an incarnation of the Deity, specially sent to destroy it. They openly told people that Ram Singh and his Kookas would shortly rule the country extending from Calcutta to Ghuznee. They promised high offices and jagheers to those embracing Kookaism, and threatened severe punishment to those who refused to become Kookas. Furthermore, they gave out that the conversion must

take place forthwith, otherwise at a later date they would be disqualified to join in the religion and treated as enemies, their villages being destroyed, heavy land taxes imposed on them.

In 1917 Sumbut Sirdar Mungul Singh, a relative (brother-in-laws's son) of the late Maharaja of Puttiala, became Kooka, and from that time Ram Singh's name and status rapidly increased. Mungul Singh presented Ram Singh with a mare (Rs. 400), a kharat (kharas-ed.) a corn mill, and sunk a well for him.

Ram Singh used to hold regular durbars, at which his 11 soobas were invariably present. At these meetings it was calculated that the sect numbered 432,000. The soobahs used regularly to introduce new converts, who received Ram Singh's blessing, and did "bhujjun." After this his followers used to ask when the Khalsa raj would take place; the reply was generally "wait just a little." I have passed four lives on earth and died after each of them a religious and devout man. I have the gift of prophecy. In a little while the Khalsa raj will occur."

Each of the eleven men mentioned above is a sooba of Ram Singh's. I know them all well. They one and all, went about proselytising. All of them, except Sirdar Mungul Singh, were present, at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th of January, i.e., at the Lohree mela. Sirdar Mungul Singh had been detained in a case against him in Puttiala territory, in which it had been discovered that he had brought considerable plunder (Rs. 3,00,000) in jewellery from relatives at Dholepore to carry on the disturbance at Bhainee. The whole ten of the soobahs at Bhainee were of one mind, and all, without exception, urged on Heera and Lehna Singh, of Shikrodee, to attack Malodh. But doubtless Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, and Pahara Singh, were most vehement in their exhortations. There were about 150 mustanas present at the mela, and 1,000 or 1,100 Kookas. I was present at the Lohree mela myself. I only know of one party starting for Malodh and Mallair Kotla. I heard no mention of Bhuttinda. There was no prohibition

amongst the officials of Ram Singh's darbar against outsiders. Anyone was invited to come and sit in darbar and turn Kooka. I heard Sahib Singh applaud Heera Singh's sentiments, and state that there were only 13 or 14 Europeans at hand to be got rid of. I am fully aware that the Raikote and Umritsur murders were the result of the orders of Ram Singh and his soobas. Ram Singh's orders were that cow-killing was not to be permitted within the Khalsa.

I have no cause of enmity with Ram Singh and his followers, or his soobas. I have been on terms of friendship with them. At this moment Kookas are looking forward to the release and rule of Ram Singh. Kookas declare that Ram Singh merely submits to his present confinement for martyrdom's sake, and that he can release himself when he chooses. They assert that when Sirdar Mungul Singh return, all the other soobahs will be released also, and that the raj will follow.

Taken the day and year above-named.

Read over to the witness in Urdu which he understood. He admitted the evidence to be correct.

*The deposition of Ghumanmdah, taken on oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Ludiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes—*I am lumberdar of Bhainee. I know the 11 soobas mentioned to me. They are all bad characters, and their general business is to preach sedition and make converts to Kookaism on the plea that the Kooka "raj" is at hand.

I saw all these men, except Mungul Singh and Roor Singh and another at the last Maghee mela. I heard nothing uttered there from their mouths, but at the well where Heera and Lehna Singh and their party were halted, I heard that the party was about to proceed to Kotla to fight and take it. I saw Lukka Singh at this place. I know nothing else about the proceedings.

Of the 11 soobas, I consider Lukka Singh, Kan Singh, Jowahir Singh, Mungul Singh, and Pahara Singh the worst. They are all dangerous though, and none ought to be released.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated and read over to witness and understood by him. Admitted by him to be correct.

The information and deposition of Bela, taken upon oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes—I am lumberdar of Sanehal. Of the 11 men's names mentioned to me I know five (viz., Lukka Singh, Kan Singh, Sahib Singh, Pahara Singh, and Mungul Singh) personally; the rest I know by repute only. I saw Lukka, Kan, Sahib, and Pahara Singh at the Bhainee mela. They were sitting in Ram Singh's durbar, and some others were with them, whom I concluded were soobas, as only soobas were allowed to sit near Ram Singh. I heard my four acquaintances at the mela pro'elytising, and saying that if all would turn Kooka, Kookas would reign. All that I know of the conspiracy which took place at Bhainee is hearsay. I heard that an attack and seizure of Kotla was intended, and after that grander views were entertained.

I believe Mungul Singh, Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, and Kan Singh to be the most dangerous of all Ram Singh's soobas. I am of opinion that none of the soobas should be at large. I have never been to Lohree mela before the last.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

The evidence was translated to the deponent, and was admitted by him to be a true showing of his statement.

The information and deposition of Dewa Singh, lumberdar of village Kattane, Zillah Loodiana, who on oath deposes—I know the 11 Soobas, (1) Sahib Singh, (2) Lukka Singh, (3) Sirdar Mungul Singh, (4) Jowahir Singh, (5) Pahara Singh, (6)

Roor Singh (7) Mullook Singh, (8) Hooama Singh (9) Kan Singh, (10) Man Singh, (11) Burmah Singh. With the exception of Mungul Singh and Burmah Singh, I saw the whole of these at Bhaince on the 12th and 13th of January last. I had gone to the mela (Maghee), as my village is close to Bhaince. Sookhoo and Ghumaundah, lumberdars of Bhaince, saw these people there also.

I have generally heard from the mouths of these soobas that ere long they (the Kookas) would reign in this country. They have stated that whoever turned Kooka now would, in the Kooka raj, obtain villages in jagheer. These soobas have given out that in Chait this year all this would come to pass. In short, I have heard generally seditious conversation from the whole of these soobas. Of the eleven men above-named, the most "fussadee" and dangerous are Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, and Mungul Singh. Most of the rows have emanated from them. But all of them are more or less dangerous, and I should consider it most imprudent to let them, or any of them, be at large now or hereafter. On the 12th January, at the Lohree mela, the nine soobas above-mentioned consulted with Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, and arranged that the latter should first go thence with a party to Malodh to get arms, and thence to Kotla and fight with it. After that they were to take Nabha, Puttiala, and lastly they were to attack Umballa.

I have heard from each of the sooba's mouths, and at various times and places, that one day they would have the "raj."

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Read over to the witness in Urdu, and admitted by him to be correct.

The information and deposition of Purtaap Singh, taken on oath by me, C. Beaden, Magistrate of Ludiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes as follows—I am lumberdar

of Jundiallee. Of the 11¹ soobas mentioned to me I know four perfectly well, viz., Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, Mungul Singh, and Kan Singh. I know the others by repute, that they are soobas of Ram Singh and are Kookas. At the "Maghee mela," on the 12th or 13th, I was present. I saw Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, and Kan Singh there. Mungul Singh was not. Ram Singh had 10 or 11 men on his "sutreenjee" (carpet); three of these were the men I have named, and the the rest were, I have no doubt, his soobas, because Ram Singh usually permitted his soobas to sit on his carpet. I have often heard my four sooba acquaintances proclaim that there would be a Kooka raj, that those who became Kookas would be benefited with jageers and lands, and that in this past Chait all this was to come to pass.

From these facts I am quite sure they mean mischief (fussad). I have heard them say that there are many thousands of Kookas, that "Ram Singh is our 'Outar', we shall conquer all and every thing." The most quarrelsome of all the soobas I have heard say, and believe to be, are Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, and Mungul Singh. I am of opinion that the present or future release of any of the soobas lately arrested can put result in harm. These soobas, one and all, are disturbers of the public peace.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Read over in Urdu to him, and admitted to be correct by the witness.

*The deposition and information of Nihal Singh, taken on oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Ludiana, this 19th April 1872, who deposes as follows—*I am lumberdar of Bholapore. I know all the 11 soobas lately arrested. I was at the

1. Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, Roor Singh, Kan Singh, Burmah Singh, Jowahir Singh, Mullcock Singh, Man Singh, Hookma Singh, Pahara Singh, Mungul Singh.

Maghee mela in Bhainee. I saw the whole of these soobas in Bhainee at the mela, except Mungul Singh who was not there. These soobas are ill conducted men, who go about converting Sikhs, on the understanding that if they (the Jats) become Kookas, they will soon become the reigning power in the State. Lukka Singh and Sahib Singh have often said words to this effect in my hearing. At other times I have heard seditious language used by one and all of the soobas.

I was present when the ten soobas, now in arrest, counselled Heera and Lehna Singh and others to make the attack on Malodh and get arms, and then to proceed and take Kotla, and after that to attack British possessions.

Of the 11 soobas, I believe Mungul Singh to be the worst, next in degree are Sahib and Lukka Singh. These three are the most faithfull and favored of Ram Singh's followers, the rest are all, in a lesser degree, to be cared for. I consider it would be most inexpedient to let any one of the eleven be at large. My village is three or four kos from Bhainee. I often go and come. This "mela" has been an annual thing at Bhainee. Since Sumbat 1917 it has much increase in its status and import. The reason why I have never reported to the authorities my feelings regarding Ram Singh and the Kookas is, that I thought Government knew as much about them as I did, and of their vain boastings of reigning "Chil after Chail".

Taken this 19th day of April 1872.

The above was admitted by the witness to be correct.

The statement of Dowlutram, taken on oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Ludiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who says-I am a Brahmin, and lumberdar of Bhainee. I know eight of the eleven soobas arrested viz., Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, Mungul Singh, Jowahir Singh, Pahara Singh, Mullook Singh, Kan Singh, Burmah Singh. I have heard these eight men generally

preaching sedition. Their advice has been to all to turn Kookas, that those who did speedily would be benefited, that those who did not, would suffer, because, ere long, the Kookas would reign in India.

The conspiracy to attack Malodh was not carried on in my hearing or sight, but I saw the party of mustanas leaving Bhainee. They went off in three detachments—one at early morning of about 100 in number, another that evening, of similar amount, and a third the next morning of 100. The leaders of the first gang Heera and Lehna Singh.¹ They called on those who wished to give up their lives to follow, and advised those who desired to live to stay behind. Ram Singh himself remonstrated with Heera and Lehna Singh on this occasion, but to no purpose.

Sahib Singh, Lukka and Mungul Singh are the most dangerous of the soobas, i.e., they commit the most sedition; but all are more or less to be feared as mischievous men.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated to the witness, and admitted by him to be correct.

*The statement of Bhugwana, taken on oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes—*I am chowkeedar of Bhainee. When the Maghee Mela, at Bhainee was over and people were beginning to disperse, I had occasion to go to the well where Heera and Lehna Singh were with a party of some 150 men. As their movements seemed suspicious I went and told Surfaraj Khan, the Deputy Inspector of Police on duty. The thannadar went to Ram Singh who said, these were "mustanas," that having eaten their meal, they would probably disperse. At 4 P.M. Ram Singh sent for them, and fed them all and gave them their *conge*. Heera and Lehna Singh were the leaders. Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, Pahara Singh, Hookma Singh, Man Singh, and Kan Singh and other soobas were

1. Heera Singh's party left Bhainee after 3 P.M. —editor.

present with Ram Singh when this feed was given. I was among them in undress. Ram Singh and the Soobas said to Lehna Singh and Heera Singh- "go to Kotla and Nabha and get arms and horses,"—and Ram Singh specially deputed Lukka Singh to advice Lehna and Heera how to act, and to cheer them up in their departure.

After this the party departed with the full sympathy of the soobas. I followed the party as far as Rampore, in Puttiala, whence I returned to Bhainee.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated to the witness, and admitted by him to be correct.

*The statement of Sookhoo, taken on oath by me. Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Ludiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes—*I am lumberdar of Bhainee. I know the whole of the eleven soobas personally. I have been in the habit of attending Ram Singh's Durbar, and had taken the Kooka pledge (bujjan). I have heard one and all of the soobas preaching sedition, and saying that they would cause destruction to all who did not turn Kookas. I have also heard them say that Russia and England would fight for India, that both would be driven to straightened means, and that then Kookas would step in and turn both out.

All the soobas were present at the last Maghee, except Mungul Singh and Man Singh. I heard the conversation about Russia and England then in particular, but I have also heard it before. On the consultation it was agreed that if Russia did not of its own motion fight England, that Ram Singh was to apply to the Akhoond of Swat for help; that between the Akhoond and the Kookas victory over the English was certain.

Lehna and Heera Singh, of Sukroundee, came last Maghee to Ram Singh and his soobas who were in durbar, and said they intended to attack Kotla, as at present its affairs were without a

head, that there they would procure arms and take Nabha, Puttiala, Jheend, Ferozepore, and Delhi. They asked Ram Singh for help. Lukka Singh assented and promised help. The rest said that the answer given by Lukka Singh was theirs. After this Heera and Lehna Singh went outside the town, where the gang of mustanas were encamped. I went and informed Surfuraz Khan, the Deputy Inspector, who had come to Bhainee for the police arrangements at the fair. Next morning, at daylight, about 100 of the mustanas went off. In the afternoon another batch went off of the same strength. Lehna Singh and Heera Singh were the leaders of the second batch. When these went off, Humam Singh and Lukka Singh, soobas, were present. I heard Heera and Lehna tell Humam Singh that they were going to take change for the death of Gyancee Singh (of Raikote notoriety), who is Humam Singh's brother. Humam and Lukka Singh said, "very good, we will follow."

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated to witness and admitted by him to be correct.

The information and deposition of Rao Ahmud Khan, of Talumdee, taken on oath by me, C. Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th April 1872—I am Raees of Talumdee, near Raikote, Zillah Loodiana. I hear a good deal of what goes on in the district of the Kookas. I knew that Ram Singh has instructed his soobas to go about proselytising, tempting converts with great rewards when it become his kingdom and his rule.

I am of opinion that the soobas were only appointed for mischievous purposes. I have heard that they have all been promised provinces when the time comes. These soobas are at the bottom of all the "fussad," they ought most certainly to be kept in confinement.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated to the witness, and admitted by him to be correct.
N.B.—This is a most respectable man, and a durbaree of this district.

*The information and deposition of Shabaz Khan, taken by me, C. Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who states on oath—*I am lumberdar of Hulwara - Tehseel and Zillah Loodiana. I know that Ram Singh's soobas are a seditious lot of men; they have been at the bottom of all the recent disturbances. They induce harmless and ignorant men to become Kookas. I am of opinion that it would be very bad policy to let them again be at large. Ram Singh appointed these men to spread his creed, and promised them large territorial charges. They in their turn held out jagheers and mafees as baits to converts; and destruction of land and property as threats to those who refuse to listen to the voice of their charming.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated to witness who has admitted the correctness.

N.B.—This is a man of position.

*The deposition of Fojei Khan, taken on oath by me, C. Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th April 1872, who deposes—*I am lumberdar of Hutow Tehseel Japawan, Zillah Loodiana. The conduct of the soobas is political and aims at Kingdom. It is not religious" (tuneek fagueeron Ke)." Ram Singh appointed these men solely to raise his power, and promised them large rewards whenever he should rule in India. These soobas are at the bottom of all strife and should certainly be kept where they are.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Translated to witness, admitted correct.

The information and deposition of Duswan Singh, taken by me, C. Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes on oath—I am lumberdar of Mouzah Narungwal. I consider that Ram Singh's scobas are a very dangerous body of men to be at large. They do nothing but make converts to Kookaism by means of reports to effect that Ram Singh will shortly reign in India, and that, when he does, his disciples will receive their rewards. This sort of doctrine has great effect on the simple minds of the Jat Sikhs of this part of the country.

Taken this 19th April 1872.

Read over to the witness who admitted its correctness.

N.B.—This is a highly respectable man, whose opinion is not to be disregarded.

C. BEADON,

Magistrate of Loodiana.



APPENDIX—C.

No. 2.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
OF LOODIANA.

The deposition of Sookhoo, son of Johuree, caste Jat, age 55, residence Bhainee, District Loodiana, taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V., 1841, before me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate, this 3rd day of May 1872—I am lumberdar of Bhainee. Last Dusserah seven months ago, I saw Mungul Singh in Bhainee. He came on a visit there to Bhai Ram Singh. He remained two days. He gave Ram Singh the clothes in court as a nuzzur, and also some rupees. I have not seen Mungul Singh in Bhainee since. Until the Dusserah I certainly saw Mungul Singh acting as and being a Kooka. This man was a very very firm ally of Ram Singh's. I have never seen Mungul Singh eating meat or drinking wine. I know nothing of Mungul Singh's acts as a counsellor to Ram Singh. Mungul Singh's daughter is betrothed to Sirdar Buddun Singh's son. Mungul Singh asked Budden Singh I know to be a Kooka, but Buddun Singh evaded the question by saying he would first consult his father, (Urith Singh).

The above evidence was taken by me in the presence of the witness, to whom it was explained, and being also read out to him in a language he understood, was acknowledged by him to be correct.

The deposition of Doclo, son of Doma, Caste Jat, age 50, residence Rayan, District Loodiana, taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V., 1841, before me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate, this 3rd day of May 1872—I am lumberdar of Rayan. At the Dusserah, or after the Umritsur and Raikote outrages, I saw Mungul Singh once in Bhainee. He came on a visit to Ram Singh. I was in Ram Singh's durbar, and saw Mungul Singh give Ram Singh two cloths (white) and some money as a

present. I have not seen Mungul Singh since Dusserah; then he certainly was a Kooka. I have never seen him eat meat or drink wine. My village is half a Koss from Bhainee. I know all that went on there.

The above evidence was taken by me, and was read out to the witness in a language he understood, and was acknowledged by him to be correct.

*The deposition of Hookum, son of Tegah, caste Jat, age 45, residence Sanehwal, District Ludiana, taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V, 1841, before me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate, this 3rd day of May 1872—*I am lumberdar of Lunchwal. I have seen Mungul Singh going to Bhainee two or three times since last Dusserah, and after the butcher outrages. His road lay through my village. I have heard that during this year Mungul Singh has presented Ram Singh with two pairs of gold bangles. Mungul Singh was a Kooka the last time I saw him, and I have heard that he was Ram Singh's famed disciple. I know nothing about Mungul Singh's eating and drinking.

The above evidence was taken by me and was read out to the witness in a language he understood, and was acknowledged by him to be correct.

*The deposition of Wureera, son of Gooman, caste Jat, age 50, residence Sanehwal, Khoord, District Ludiana, taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V, 1841, before me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of District, this 3rd day of May 1872—*I am lumberdar. Since last 'dewalee' I have several times seen Mungul Singh coming from and going to Bhainee, with a retinue of sawars. He certainly was a Kooka until last I saw him, and I believe to be one now. I have never heard it otherwise mentioned. I have heard it publicly announced that Mungul Singh had given Ram Singh presents of a horse and "doshala" as "nuzzur".

The above evidence was taken by me and was read out to the witness in a language he understood, and was acknowledged by him to be correct.

The deposition of Fojco, son of Bhola, caste Jat, age 45, residence Omedpore, District Loodiana, taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V, 1841, before me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate, this 3rd day of May 1872—I am lumberdar. Bhaince is five koss from my village. I have seen Mungul Singh passing my village several times on his way to Ram Singh of Bhaince during the past seven months. I have heard that on each of which occasion he paid a visit he also presented a "nuzzur". I am quite sure Mungul Singh was a Kooka until the last time. I saw him a few months ago.

The above evidence was taken by me and was read out to the witness in a language he understood and was acknowledged by him to be correct.

C. BEADON,

Magistrate of Loodiana.

—o—

APPENDIX—C.

No. 3.

[This man's evidence has been taken in detail by
Mr. Warburton and Captain Beadon.]

Sukhu, son of Jowri, caste Jat, Lumberdar of Bhaince, swears by the Ganges water and says—The day after the Lohri, that was on Friday 12th in the evening, there was a select council in Ram Singh's durtar. Some 30 or 40 men were present, and the doors were shut. Ram Singh and nine of the Scobas who have been deported were present, but Man Singh and Mungul

Singh were not present; the latter because he was detained by the Maharajah at Puttiala. Soobas (1) Ootmee and (2) an Umbeyla Sirdarnee were sitting behind.

Ram Singh was asked to take his raj, he said he would do so with the help of the Akoond Sahib after the Russians and the English had fought, and one was beaten. He also said that if his servants wished to do something at once, they might attack Kotlah, then Nabha, then Puttiala, and told his Soobas he would help them.

At this meeting Sahib Singh, Jowahir Singh, and Lukka Singh were sitting in front of the Gooroo's charpoy. Kan Singh, Pahara Singh, Hookuma Singh, Bramah Singh, and the other Soobas were sitting on one side.

Next morning I heard Ram Singh, say to the mustanas, in the presence of the Havildar, that they were not to do any mischief, but this was only pretence.

When the mustanas were starting, they all said they had got the Gooroo's order. I was standing with the chowkeedar in the larger enclosure. Lukka Singh and Hurnam Singh, brother of Gyanee Singh (hanged), were standing in the doorway of the inner enclosure within which Ram Singh was standing. Ram Singh said "go and start those men off sharp." They went, and the chowkeedar went with them. When we got to the mustanas, Lehna Singh and Heera Singh said we are going to take a "budla" (exchange) for Gyanee Singh-wont you come too? Hurnam Singh and Lukka Singh said, "go on, I will follow." They started about 4 P.M.

Early that morning I saw a band of 100 men starting off, and having heard Ram Singh say to a Sikh the night before Kotla-Nabha had been taken, Man Singh was to make arrangements for taking Ferozepore ilaqua, and seeing the same Sikh with the band, I suspected they were going in that direction. Another band of 100 men I also saw start on Sunday morning.¹

These were, of course, parties leaving Bhainee, but these men went off in a regular band. I was standing in my room. I heard them saying among themselves that, if the others had succeeded at Kotla, they would go and join; if not, they would disperse to their homes.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

Bugwana Chowkeedar of Bhainee, on solemn affirmation, said—The day that Heera Singh and Lehna Singh went off to Kotla, I saw in the early morning Man Singh Sooba start with a band of men, some 100 saying he was going to take Kotla, Nabha, &c. He said this to Lehna Singh as he passed the well, at which the mustanas were sitting. Lehna Singh said he would follow.* This was not the same Man Singh as the Sooba who is now in confinement at Allahabad.

I was present when Ram Singh forbade the mustanas starting or doing any mischief. I was also present when he fed them in his own compound and bade them start for Kotla. He also told Lukka Singh to assist them. They then went off to the well. This was a little after noon, about four. Ram Singh sent Lukka Singh Hurnam Singh to start them off from the well. They said to the mustanas "you go on, we will follow." The mustanas then went off.

Read over and acknowledged correct.

The 18th April 1872.

J.W.MACNABB.

1. These people left Bhainee not with the intention to take part in Malodh and Mellar Kotla affairs but to go back to their homes, as the Maghee mela was over.—editor.

*He says this, when Sukbu lumberdar is called in and tells him that Man Singh, prisoner, was not at Bhainee at all, which is true.

APPENDIX—D.

No. 1

[Confidential.]

No. 185, dated the 22nd April 1872.

Memo. from—M. MORRIS, ESQ. Offg. Personal Asst. to the Insptr.

Genl. Police; Punjab.

To—J. W. MACNABB, ESQ. Deputy Commissioner. Simla.

FORWARDS herewith two depositions received from District Superintendent of Police, Hooshiarpore, testifying to seditious meetings held in that district by Kan Singh *alias* Nihung Singh, Kooka Sooba.

*Deposition of Ram Singh, son of Churt Singh, Turkhan of Chugran, aged 51 years, taken upon oath by me on the 18th day of April 1872, said—*I am a Biswadar in my village. I remember last year, about Sawun-Badho, Kurora Singh, Lumberdar, got up a "Bhog Grunth," at which about 150 Kockas (men and women) attended; also about 6 or 700 other people from the surrounding villages. Nihung Singh was present at the time. The Kookas openly told the people that in Sumbut 1928 their rule would be established, and they advised people to join them if they wanted to be well off.

Recorded by Mr. O'Connor, attested by myself.

P.S.—Witness adds that he looked upon the men as fools, and laid no stress whatever upon the matter.

The 18th April 1872.

*Deposition of Lehna, son of Raman, caste Mehton, of Chugran, aged 65 years, taken upon oath by me on the 18th day of April 1872, said—*I am Biswadar, and have a fourth share

in my village. I remember in Har or Sawan last (June or July) Kurora Singh, Kooka (Lumberdar) of my village, got up a "Bhog Grunth." About a hundred Kookas (men and women) attended it. They advised us all to turn Kookas, as in 1928 Sumbat the Kooka rule would be established, and those who joined them would be well off. Nihung Singh, that is, Baba Kan Singh, was present.

Recorded by District Superintendent of Police, attested by myself.

F.E. MOORE,

The 18th April, 1872.

*Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Hooshiarpore.*

No.2.

Deposition of Heera Singh, son of Daxondhi, Lumberdar of Chuck Mallair, aged 40 years, caste Jat, taken upon oath by me on the 12th day of April 1872, said—I was coming to Hooshiarpore in Asoo last, and met Nihal Singh, Kooka, of Singapore, and I asked him what this new faith was, and he said that Ram Singh was an incarnation of Guru Govind, the tenth Badsha, and it would be well for those who believed this, and that in 1928 the Khalsa rule would begin. I told him he had neither arms, wealth, nor aught else, what did he expect to do? On which he girded up his loins, swung his little axe (Lalatar Singh), said that the royal horses would run as he then careered before me, and the little axe could take all the guns, & c, & c.

In Magi this man came again to me in the village, and asked me to come to the Soobas, and I should be rewarded. I told him I had a Government to serve, and would have none of his bad practices, on which he left me, telling me I would repent. I did not tell anyone, as I really thought it to be all nonsense. The man is at

his home, I believe.

Read over in Urdu and acknowledged to be true.

*Deposition of Gonesha Singh, son of Jogin Rajpoot, Lumberdar of Dangoh, taken upon oath by me on the 13th day of April 1872, said—*I am Zaildar of the ilaqua. Some two years ago that Bhagwan Singh and, I think, Khushal Singh,—the former of Kassahat, the latter of Ganhari,—and Mehtab Singh, of Ambota, tried to convert me to Kookaism, and asked me to join their sooha. I asked them to explain themselves, but they said they could not do this. So much they did say that their Guru, Ram Singh, had declared for the restoration of the Khalsa. I asked them what they could do without arms, or aught else, and they said that the Guru had only to give the order, the arms would be theirs. I told Mr. Perkins this one day at Paurain that I was afraid the sect was increasing, and might one day create a disturbance; but he told me they were harmless and truthful, and some one had told me lies about them. Later than this I also told the District Superintendent of Police, when he was searching for information about female infanticide, and he also gave me the same reply.

Mehtab Singh is a Turkhan Lohar, and works as a brick-layer; Khushal Singh is a "bhati" (cultivator); Bhagwan Singh is a Rajpoot. They never came to me in a body, but travelled about, and when we met, spoke in this way; they made no secret of it.

I meet none of them now. What they said was, that Ram Singh had declared that the Khalsa raj would some day be restored.

Read to witness in Urdu and acknowledged to be correct.

The 13th April 1872.

*Deposition of Heera, son of Buta Singh, Lumberdar of Bichoi, Rajpoot, age 30 years, taken upon oath by me on the 12th day of April 1872, said—*I was coming from Gurhshankar eight months since in Bhadon, and near Laila Lukha Singh and five or six other Kookas were coming on to Mahelpore where

the others lived. I only knew Futteh Singh of these, and his house was in Mahelpore. They were talking and saying that Bhai Ram Singh was a Guru as had been Govind, and that either in 1927 or 1928 he would ascend the throne at Lahore, and the Khalsa rule would begin. I heard this as I was coming up behind them. I was some ten paces behind them, they were speaking openly. They were not in drink. I thought it empty brag, as I had heard them in Mahelpore speaking of a few men as a lakh. I did not believe it, but the Loodiana affair has proved it.

Read over and acknowledged to be correct.

Re-called—I did not know Lukha Singh, but they took his name. I do not know where he is now.

NOTE—The matter of the "Lakhs" of men was a strange thing to have occurred to this witness so long ago as eight months, as it was only recently that the men who spoke in this idiotic way came to Mahelpore. His statement may be correct certainly.

FE. MOORE,

The 12th April 1872

*Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Hoozliarpore.*



APPENDIX—E.

No. 1.

[Confidential.]

No. 204, dated 29th April 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel GHUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector General of
Police, Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, ESQ, Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

In continuation of No. 198 of 27th instant, forwards herewith statements taken privately by the Deputy Commissioner Gujranwala, testifying to the antecedents of the Kooka Soobas.

—o—

STATEMENTS.

Dya Singh, son of Dul Singh, caste Jat, Lumberdar (Alo) of Verrun, Thannah Shekhopora, taken by me this 26th day of April 1872, states.—I know Burmah Singh, one of Ram Singh's Soobas; he used often to come to my village to make converts; he first came about 7 or 8 years ago. Jothah Singh, another Sooba, used to come also, sometimes alone and sometimes with Burmah Singh. Since the marriage Amreek Singh, of Chooar, when both these men were present, they have never returned. That marriage took place in Sawun last year. I have repeatedly heard both Burmah Singh and Jotha Singh with my own ears tell people that they had better to become Kookas, as the Khalsa raj was coming again, and the reign of the English at an end. They used to speak fearlessly on all these occasions. After the murders at Amritsur I heard Burmah Singh say the butchers had been murdered by Gooroo Ram Singh's "Shahceeds". Burmah Singh used to come from the Sealkote direction.

2. *Heerah Singh, son of Soobah Singh, caste Verikh Jat, of Shumsha-States.*—In Kartik 1927 Burmah Singh, Sooba of Ram Singh, came to my village and hold a meeting at the house of Tekh Singh Putwarree of the village, who is also a Kooka. He came again in Jeth Sumbut 1928 (June and July 1871) to the marriage of Juggutt Singh's daughter. I heard of his sayings and doings from Tekh Singh, but he did not speak before me, as he knew I was not one of the sect. Jothah Singh, another sooba, came to the village once and another Rajah Singh came also; the latter only passed through the village, did not stay.

Prem Singh, son of Huzoora Singh caste Bhuttia of Shumsha, Heresay evidence.—Was asked by Tekh Singh Putwarree, of his village, who is a Kooka, to come and be presented to his Gooroo Burmah Singh. Replied that his father's Gooroo was his Gooroo. Burmah Singh first came in the month when Juggutt Singh's daughter was married. Heard that he came also in Khartik 1927.

3. *Kahn Singh, son of Mehr Singh. Jat, a Lumburdar of Guddanwalla—States:* I know Burmah Singh Sooba; he has been in my village five or six times making or trying to make converts. My own brother Jeewun Singh is a Kooka. He, Burmah Singh, never said anything about the coming change in the raj in my presence. He used to say it was good to wear the "Kuch" - shortdrawers- and to become Kookas. He came on the last occasion in Bhadon 1928 (1871). I know Jotah Singh, he is also Sooba of Ram Singh. He came twice alone I think.

4. *Tukht Singh, son of Dhunna Singh, caste -Jat Verikh, Zaildar of Mirza.*—I have never seen Burmah Singh nor have I met Jothah Singh Sooba. I have heard from other people of their sayings and doings but have no personal knowledge. I heard from residents of Kulokeh that Burmah Singh came to Varrun, Jhubbur, Moodar and other places and preached to the people, but as there were no Kookas in my village they did not come there. I mentioned what people were saying to Colonel Babbage,

Major Wall, and Mr. Prinsep, Settlement Commissioner, but they saw no harm in it apparently. I never heard any preaching myself.

5. *Anoke Singh, son of Bal Singh, caste Verikh Jat, Zaildar of Choochur Khana.*—I never saw Burmah Singh until Har Sumbat 1928, (June- July 1871) when he and Jothah Singh; Soobas of Ram Singh, came from Sealkote direction for a marriage in Amreck Singh's family. He is a Kooka. Neither of the soobas above-named said any thing seditious in my presence; they only told the people it was good to become Kookas. I heard from other people, some of them Kookas, that they said the government of the Khalsa would soon commence, but I never heard them say so. I don't know who Burmah Singh was, nor where he originally came from. He is not of this part of the country.

6. *Doonee Chund, son of Kunayah Lall, caste Kuttree, Naib Canooongo of Shekhopora.*—I never saw either Burmah Singh or Jothah Singh, but other Kookas have told me when I was going my rounds that the reign of the Sikhs was about to commence and that these two soobas of Ram Singh told them so. This was mentioned in general conversation. I have no personal knowledge of the sayings and doings of Burmah Singh or Jothah Singh.

7. *Kahn Singh, son of Dhuana Singh, caste Jat Verikh, brother of Tukht Singh.* I never saw Burmah Singh Sooba or Jothah Singh in my village, though they did once pass through it. I never heard any of their sayings or doings though I heard all about the absurd speeches they used to make from other people. I can give no personal statement but have been told that these men used to visit Jhubbur, Choochur Khan and other places making converts to Ram Singh's religion. Goordit Singh is my brother. He knows no more than I do.

Bussunt Singh, son of Futteh Singh Man, caste Man, of Mogul Chuk.—I am the son of Sirdar Futteh Singh Man

Honorary Magistrate and his Revenue Agent. I am in the habit of visiting his zail. There are Kookas in my village in Killa Man Singh, and in many other places. My relatives, Sirdar Heera Singh Man and Rae Man Singh are Kookas. They live at Manawalla, Tehsil Ryah, Zaillah Sealkote, and have also property at Mogul Chuk. I have seen Burmah Singh Sooba frequent at Gujranwalla but never heard him preach. Heard from others that he said the British raj was over and the reign of the Sikhs at hand, but this was only the gossip of Kookas and others. The Kookas had an assembly when Mylot Singh Kooka died; they rejoiced over him. Kookas told self and others in conversation that the butchers at Umritsur were killed by the followers of Ram Singh Gooroo. Tahal Singh of my village, a servant of Sirdar Heerah Singh, became a Kooka, how or why I did not enquire.

8. *Dusswundo, son of Jethu, caste Chuma, of Banka Cheema.*—There are some 30 or 37 Kookas in my village. Burmah Singh came five or six times, and on each occasion there were assemblies; he is a sooba and used to make converts. I was told by converts that he whispered in such man's ear that in the good time he would be a "Goorchurra," and that all unconverted would suffer when Gooroo Ram Singh's raj began. This was not said by the sooba before me; my information was obtained from others. I never heard Burmah Singh preach.

9. *Goorbuxh Singh, son of Sirdar Jodh Singh, caste Man, of Mogul Chuk.*—Similar to that of Bussunt Singh, except that he has not seen either Burmah Singh sooba, or Jothah Singh.

10. *Shabuz Khan, son of Azim Khan, caste Daraich Pathan, Head Lumburdar of Jhandiala, Sher Khan.*—I know Burmah Singh, one of the Kooka soobas. Ram Singh was in the district at Monsah "Vurrua," and there was a great assemblage of Kookas and others. Burmah Singh was also

present and told the people to become Kookas. This was some three or four years ago. I again saw Burmah Singh at Monsah Vurrun (Sawun 1928) in June last (1871). He was trying to make converts and saying what good people Kookas were. I heard him with my own ears say on that occasion that the raj (government) would "change in 2 or 2½ months, and the raj of the Kookas begin." I thought this all stuff and nonsense at the time. I heard all the Kookas talking about the coming change of government, but paid no attention, as I did not think the chattering of faqueers worth listening to. I never saw Burmah Singh again, nor do I know what place he belongs to. I don't know Jothah Singh and Rajah Singh Soobas.

11. *Tilakh Singh, son of Uttar Singh, caste Jat Verikh, Zaildar of Kaloki.*—I have neither seen Burmah Singh nor Jothah Singh, Kooka Soobas, as they never came to my village, there being no Kookas there for them to practice upon. I have heard much of their sayings from Kookas as to change of government which might be expected when Ram Singh got into power, & c. But I know nothing whatever personally, nor did I ever hear any of the Soobas preach. I know that they used to visit "Vurrun", "Jhubber," and other places, but did not see them.

12. *Futteh Singh, son of Hookum Singh, caste Chuma, Zemindar of Baike Chuma.*—I have seen Burmah Singh four or five times in my village, Ram Singh twice, and Jothah Singh once, but I never heard them preach. They would not say anything seditious before one who did not belong to the sect unless they happened to be drunk. I heard other Kookas say that they predicted a change of government and said Ram Singh's raj would soon commence; but of these matters I have no personal knowledge. I don't know who Burmah Singh is, nor where he sprang from. Some people say he is Brahmin. I don't know.

13. *Nehal Singh, son of Chunda Singh, caste Gowsya Jat, Lumburdar of Sacusra*—There are some 13 men in my village of the Kooka sect. Soobas Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh converted them. I heard both of these men openly say that all who did not adopt the religion of Ram Singh would regret it always, for the raj (government) of Gooroo "Maharaj" is to come. They also said that all who became Kookas would have peace. I saw Burmah Singh last about ten months ago.

14. *Avela Singh, son of Utter Singh, caste Dhillao, Lumburdar of Khara*.—I know Kooka Soobas Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh, they have both come to my village on several occasions, Jothah Singh from Sealkote and Burmah Singh I don't know where from. I have heard many rumours of their sayings and doings from other Kookas, but never heard either party say anything about the government. I don't know who Burmah Singh is, or where he came from.

15. *Hanelee, son of Haokum Chund, caste Gooraya Jat, Lumburdar of Chuk Hindoo*.—There are nine Kookas in my village. Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh used to come often. They converted the other Lumburdar Utter Singh¹. Ram Singh came once. The soobas said it was good to be converted, there being many advantages, but they did not force people to become Kookas, nor did they say anything in my presence about a change of raj.

16. *Goolab, son of Mahomed Saleh, caste Verikhi Lumburdar of Bootala Shurun Singh*.—There are three Kookas in my village. Soobas did not stay there, though I saw Jothah Singh and Burmah Singh as they passed to and from Sealkote District. They always had followers. Once Ram Singh, their Gooroo, came and passed through the village, a great crowd was with him. On one occasion Burmah Singh said to me in a laughing kind of

1. Great grand father of Sant Taran Singh Vehmi, a famous Namdhari writer.

way, "why don't you become a Kooka"? I said "I was content," he said "you'll see when the Maharaj's reign begins what will happen." This was two year ago. They pulled up tobacco, and threw down a khanga (shrine). I used to see great assemblies at Saensra and Hindon Chuck. I don't know other soobas. This is all I have to say. These soobas have not been in these parts since June (Sawun) last. I don't know who Burmah Singh is. He was at one time a faqueer I believe.

17. *Mahomed Buz, the other Lumburdar corroborates Goolab's statement.*—No others present. Enquiry will be resumed to-morrow, 26-4-72.

18. *Jeohan Khan, son of Bukhs Boolund, caste Boobur, Zaildar of Ferozewalla.*—I never actually spoke to Burmah Singh although he sometimes passed through my zail. There are only Kookas in one village Datawalla. Burmah Singh accompanied by number of followers, sometimes as many as a hundred, used to go to Saensra, Chuck Hindoo, and other places where Kockas abound. I never heard him preaching, but the Kockas following him used to say that their Goo-roo's reign would soon begin. They said the "sath partab" of the Goo-roo would soon be established. All this I heard from other parties, and not from any of the soobas. I don't know any of the others.

19. *Urjun Singh, son of Goolab, caste Herh, Lumburdar of Kot Bowanes Dass.*—Burmah Singh may have been in my village, but I did not myself see him, nor did I hear him preach. Jothah Singh came on one or two occasions to my village to stay near a pucca tank. I never heard him preach. There were a good number of Kookas in my village of different castes, Ram Singh converted some at Killa Dider Singh. The other lumburdar of my village, Bysakhee, is ill and could not come to-day. I know nothing further.

20. *Tekh Singh Kooka, son of Futteh Singh, caste Arora, Putwarree of Shamsha.*—I am a believer in Goo-roo Ram Singh. He is a real Goo-roo. I was converted by Sooba Jothah Singh, Burmah Singh, another Sooba, being present at the time of "Suntpoora" near Shumsha. I don't really know Burmah Singh's

parentage, nor where his home was; he never mentioned them. Some people said he was a Brahmin and some a zemindar; I don't know which. Jothah Singh belongs to the Sealkote District, Village Dhapaie. He and Burmah Singh sometimes made tours together, some-times separate. Vissaka Singh and Jumud used to attend to Burmah Singh's horses. Jumuet Singh of Gill walla, Zillah Sealkote, is also sooba, also Rajah Singh of Trandi in Sealkote district. Booleka Singh of Vurrun and Goolab Singh of Bhubbur marry Kookas, but don't convert. I only presume they are mahunts or priests, because they marry people. Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh told me the following were Kooka Soobas, but I don't know where they live:

Tekh Singh	Lukka Singh.
Jowahir Singh	Sahib Singh.
Narraen Singh	Futteh Singh.
Sood Singh	Roor Singh, Umristur in-Tarkhan.
Gopal Singh	Pahara Singh.

I never heard anything but good of Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh Soobas. They never said or did anything wrong.

21. *Munsa Singh Kooka, son of Diwan Singh, caste Zangar of Mutoowan, age about 18 years.*—I was converted at Saensra by Sooba Jothah Singh, some five or six years ago, and was his personal attendant for some two or two-half years. He is a resident of Dhapaie in Sealkote district, and used to visit this district, and be present in weddings and try to make converts. After leaving his service I entered that of Burmah Singh. I don't know his parentage, or where he originally came from. I heard from others that he was once an "Oodassi Sadh" and a priest in that sect, and was said to have belonged to the "Derah Brahm Boota Faqueers" at the Umritsur temple. Baba Baluk Singh made him a convert to the Kooka religion. Ram Singh, my Gooroo, made him a priest and a sooba. He lived principally at Chuk Rehan, Thannah Dhurm Kot, Zillah. Sealkote with Mussamut Bhagun, a Kooke. Sometimes he lived at Oogoo Chuk and

sometimes at Gillunwalla, District Sealkote, making frequent tours. He and Jothah Singh used to stay with the following persons when on their tours.

At Muttuo	—With self and Shurm Singh.
At Oogund	—I forget.
At Kharna	—Don't remember.
At Guddunwalla	—With Jeewan Singh Mullee.
At Esurki	—Don't remember.
At Madon	—With Lumburda Sawan Singh.
At Chochurkhana	—Don't remember.
At Bhabbar	—With Goolab Singh Turkhan.
At Jubbur	—Don't remember.
At Chuk Hinoo	—With Dial Singh who lives with Utter Singh.
At Saensza	—Don't remember.
At Byaka Cheema	—Ditto ditto.
At Sahurrun Chatha	—Ditto ditto.
At Phameh Semi	—Mahant did not go there. I stayed with Ludda Singh and Sadoo Singh.
At Goojranwalla	—With Bhai (Sirdar) Lenah Singh Girjhakia.
At Killa Didar Singh	—With a Chetna Sikh, Name not remembered.
At Jamki	—Don't remember.
At Shumsha	—With Putwarree Tekh Singh.
At Kinnoki	—With Joth Singh, Carpenter.
At Vurrun	—With a Sikh whose name I don't recollect.
At Ruttallee	—With Hem Singh, goldsmith.
At Munes	—Don't remember.
At Rajah	—Don't remember.
At Thathur Moruk	—Sooba did not stay, but I put up with Bualak Singh Turkhan.
At Mulkeh	—Don't remember.

At Lundheh	—Don't recollect.
At Codes	—With Dhagwan Singh, Putwarree.
At Manawulla, Sealkote District	—With Hecrah Singh Man and Rai Man Singh Man.
At Zabul	—With one Sharna Singh.
At Philloke	—With Man Singh Nihung.
At Vaneeki	—Don't remember.

We visited lots of other villages, but I cannot remember them all, nor names of people with whom we stayed. Both soobas used to urge people to become Kookas. I left Burmah Singh's service and wandered about a faqueer, this is three years ago. I was at Bhainee when the row took place as Gooroo Ram Singh's servant, or rather I left before at his command. He told me to go home. I was caught at Phillore and taken to the Fort for some 12 days, after which I was ordered (to go-ed) home. I don't know of any marriage having been performed by Goolah Singh and Bulaka Singh. They are no more mahants than I am. Rajah Singh of Trandi, Thannah Meeana; Jothah Singh of Dhapaie, Thannah Passon; Jumayut Singh of Gillwalla (Sealkote); Goor Chum Singh of Chuk Ram Doss, Thannah Sutra, Zillah Sealkote, are all trusted "soobas" of Gooroo Ram Singh. When we went to Umritsur we stayed at a tank, we did not stay with Roor Singh Sooba, as far as I can now remember. When the Umritsur murders took place, I was at Banwallpoora, in the Umritsur District. I don't know where Burmah Singh was at the time, though I have heard he was at Panjgaraen near Umritsur. I don't know where Jothah Singh was either.

22. *Boorah, son of Rooro, caste Brahmin, of Saharan.*—Burmah Singh Sooba came to my village in Assar last and preached about the Kooka religion. He is a sooba. Some 100 people were present. I heard him distinctly say how good his Gooroo Ram Singh was, and also that the reign of the Khalsa (Sikhs) was now fast approaching. There are 53 Kookas in my village. Lumburdars Goolah Singh, brother of Utter Singh, and Ruttun Singh are both Kookas. Burmah Singh Sooba did not come again. I don't know who or what he was, though people

said he had once been an "Oodassi Sadh."

None of the other men called in are present. The statements will be recorded on Monday, 27th April 1872.

—o—

[Confidential]

No. 208, dated 1st May 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel GHUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector,
General of Police, Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, ESQ., Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

IN continuation of No. 204 of 29th ultimo, forwards, in original, further depositions taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwalla, affecting the antecedents of certain Kooka Soobas.

23. *Heerah Singh, son of Sowayah, caste Jat Verikh, Head Lumburdar of Jubber, states*.—I know the Kooka Sooba Burmah Singh. He came to my village some five or six times and at first used to be very cautious in his conversation, but latterly he talked very openly, particularly in Har last, when in my presence he told the people to put jangias (short-drawers) on their women, otherwise, when the men went to battle the women would be uncovered. He said that houses, & c., should be sold and only cash kept, as it would be useful by and by. He said before me that in 2 or 2½ months Gooroo Ram Singh's raj would begin, and then people who had not been named (became Kookas) would have cause to regret. After the butcher murders at Umritsur, I heard Burmah Singh say that the Gooroo Ram Singh's Shaheeds had done the business. Jothah Singh Sooba never said any thing like the above; he used to do the religious

part only, leaving the political line to Burmah Singh. I don't know who Burmah Singh is, but he was reported as Burmah Singh. He and Jothah Singh used to come from Sealkote direction.

24. *Aroora, son of Jymaull, caste Jat Sansee, Zaildar of Toppeh Goojranwalla.*—I know the Kooka Soobas Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh; they used to come occasionally. Burmah Singh came twice; on both occasions saw him at Goojranwalla. Jothah Singh came often. They were always trying to make converts and praising their Gooroo and his religion. They used to put up in the Thuttiur Dhurumsalla when at Goojranwalla. I never heard them say anything seditious. When the daughter of Sirdar Lenah Singh was married,¹ Jothah Singh came to Goojranwalla and stayed in the late Sirdar Hurree Singh's havelee in the town. This was about one year ago.

25. *Govind, son of Kuniah, caste Brahmin, of Mouzah Jubber.*—I am chowkeedar in the serai at Jubbur. My house is close to the Kooka Dhurumsalla at Jubber. Ram Singh once came there and Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh used to come frequently. I remember some nine months ago there was an assembly of Kookas and others to hear the Grunth read. Burmah Singh told the people that those who did not become Kookas would regret it when presently the raj of Gooroo Ram Singh commenced. All people will get arms. Ram Singh is exactly like Bishe Singh. He then said, "come, come, there will be a cry of akal! akal! soon." The Sooba Jothah Singh was present, but did not join in this conversation. He merely tried to convert. They went from there to Verrun and Choochurkhanna and put the kutch (short-drawers) on women telling them that they would find them a protection if they had to go about working for soldiers and others in the field, & c., & c.; in fact they said plenty of things that they dare not say now! I was told by the Tehsildars to keep

1. Sirdar Lenah Singh is son-in-law of late Sirdar Hurree Singh Nalwa.

my ears open and find out what these meant. Burmah Singh said in my presence at Jubber that the Gooroo's "Shahoods" had killed the butchers, and that, although a pressure had been brought to bear upon the people at Umritsur, it would not last; that a good time was coming for all Sikhs, & c., & c. They used to come from the Sealkote direction. I don't know where Burmah Singh came from originally, nor whether he is a Brahmin. He used at first to wander on foot, but afterwards had a horse which he said had been given to him by his Gooroo.

26. *Bysakhee, son of Ram Chund, caste Jat, Head Lumbardar of Kot Bowanee Dass.*—There are about 16 male Kookas in my village. The first convert was Hookum Singh; he was converted by Baba Ram Akilla Diden Sing. Burmah Singh Sooba came a few times to my village for the purpose of urging people to become Kookas. I never heard him say anything against the government or to the effect that Gooroo Ram Singh's raj was near at hand, though Kookas and others told me he was in the habit of saying so. I heard him say it was a good thing to join the Kooka sect, and that those who did not do so would regret it. I never saw Jothah Singh. I don't know who Burmah Singh was, nor his birth-place, & c.

27. *Dya Singh, son of Furdhan Singh, caste Multoo Jat, Lumbardar of Bhui Muttoo.*—I know Soobas Burmah Singh and Jothah Singh Kookas. The former came twice and the latter thrice to my village. I know nothing personally of what they said and did. There are some eight Kookas in my village. There used to be great assemblies when these men arrived. Neither of the above soobas has visited the village for the last nine or ten months. I have heard of many things they had said but from other persons. I never heard them speak nor did I converse with them.

28. *Kumch, son of Dhurm Duss, caste Brahmin, of Mouzah Sahurm Khoord.*—Sooba Burmah Singh used to come frequently to my village. He came last Assar and then said his

advice to all people was that they should become Kookas, that it was a good religion; that the reign of Gooroo Ram Singh would shortly begin and all who did not join the sect would have cause to regret it. Don't know Jothah Singh. There are a number of Kookas in my village. Ram Singh once came. The Lumberdar is a Kooka. The Lumberdar used to say there would be a change of raj soon. I heard them say so to Goolab Singh and others. They asked me to join and used often to say "akal ! akal !" I would not join them.

This completes the statements and is forwarded to the Inspector General, Police, in accordance with his request conveyed through the District Superintendent Police.

J. MILLER,

30th April 1872

District Supt. of Police.



APPENDIX—E.

No.2

[Confidential]

No.213, dated the 6th May 1872.

From—LIEUTENANT COLONEL G. HUTCHINSON, C.S.I.,

Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, ESQ, Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

IN continuation of No. 212 of the 4th instant, forwards, in original, accompanying deposition of one Vaisaka Singh, for some time in the service of Sooba Burmah Singh, taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala.

—o—

*Deposition of Vaisaka Singh. Kooka, son of Migh Singh, caste Dhotur Jat, resident of Dhoonee, Thannah Ilafizabad, Zillah Goojranwalla, age 28 years, occupation zemindar, states—*Eight years and ten months ago I went to Umritsur. There Gooroo Baba Burmah Singh was staying in the Boongeh Chamliawalla in the Darbar Sahib (Temple). I was then initiated by him into Kookaism, and he engaged me as his syce (horse-keeper) on one rupee a month and my food. I remained there (i.e., at Umritsur in the Boongeh) for one year with him. Although Sooba Arur Singh, Ramghurria Sikh (carpenter), was the Sooba of Umritsur and lived there, and used to convert also, still he was subordinate to Baba Burmah Singh Sooba, who used to convert people also. After this Burmah Singh and I went to Dehra Baba Nanuk in the Goordaspore district, and Burmah Singh was engaged in propagating the Kooka doctrines and making converts in the neighbouring villages. I only recollect the name of one of his converts there, and he was called Kartar Singh. Burmah Singh was always engaged in endeavouring to increase the number

of Kookas by making converts. We remained at Dehra Baba Nanuk and in its neighbourhood for 15 or 20 days, then went to Gilwalla in the Sealkote district to Sooba Jumeyut Singh, where Burmah Singh was likewise acting as a propagandist. From Gilwalla we went to Killa Sooba Singh in the Sealkote district, and remained with a friend of Burmah Singh's whose name I do not recollect. From thence we went to Chavinda in the same district, and lived with Mea Singh Kooka, then on to Charvind, and put up with Prem Singh Kooka, then went to the Goojrat and Shahpore districts, and were wandering about for three or four months, during which time Burmah Singh was preaching them Kooka doctrines and effecting conversions. Then I took leave from Burmah Singh and went to my house. Nine months after this I joined Baba Burmah Singh Sahib at Hindoo Chuk in the Goojranwalla district, where he was staying as the guest of Utter Singh Kooka, Lumbardar, and preaching and making converts. After this Jewand Singh Malwei and I were both his syces or horse-keepers, and used to accompany him wherever he went. Baba Burmah Singh's rank and position among the soobas was equal to that of Soobas Sahib Singh, Lukha Singh, Kan Singh, and Pahara Singh, who were the special moosahibs or lieutenants of Gouroo Ran Singh Sahib. The other soobas were subordinate to these, and wherever Baba Burmah Singh went, preached and converted. The other soobas never attempted to interfere or act, as they were subordinate to him. The special charge and jurisdiction of Burmah Singh were the districts of Goojranwalla, Goojrat, Sealkote, and Shahpore, and he used to go on tours of inspection through these districts for the purpose of supervising the necessary arrangements and working. Soobas Rajah Singh of Trandi and Jothah Singh of Dhapye in the Sealkote district were the subordinate assistants of Burmah Singh Baba, and their jurisdiction only extended to the Sealkote and Goojranwalla districts. They used to make converts also, and obey the orders

of Baba Burmah Singh even in their movements. baba Burmah Singh was formerly a Mahunt among the "Nanga Sadhoo" (naked faqueers). No one knows his parentage, caste residence or native place, nor did he ever tell anyone. He used to wander about. Nine or ten years ago he went to Huzroh on a visit to Baba Baluk Das (Singh), the founder of the Kooka religion, and was initiated there by Baluk Das (Singh), and left the sect of faqueers (religious mendicants) to which he had formerly belonged. He (Burmah Singh) then went to Bhainee, and was nominated head sooba of the four districts named above, and invested with supreme powers in them by Gooroo Sahib Sath Gooroo (the true Gooroo), Ram Singh Sahib. In Asoo, Sumbut 1928 (September 1871), Baba Burmah Singh came to my village on a visit to Juggut Singh, who is my nephew, but only remained one night. He then proceeded to Saharun Chattha, in the Akalgarh jurisdiction, but I remained behind. In pch, Sambut 1928 (December 1871), I joined him again at Oogoo Chuk in the Sealkote District, and he then told Jewund Singh and myself that he had received orders from Sath Gooroo (the pure and true Gooroo) Ram Singh Sahib, to wait on him at once at Bhainee (i.e., he was summoned by Gooroo Ram Singh); that I was to remain at Oogoo Chuk in charge of the big bay horse; that Jewund Singh was to accompany him with the small horse to Amritsur, and bring back the horse to Oogoo Chuk, and that Goolab Singh Malwai and Rangela Singh of Singree in the Jummo territory were to accompany him to Bhainee for the purpose of worshipping the Sath Gooroo, Baba Ram Singh Sahib. Burmah Singh went to Amritsur by the direct road via the Rays ferry on the Ravee. Nine days after his departure, Jewund Singh returned with the small horse to Oogoo Chuk. When the row or disturbance occurred at Mullair Kotla, the police arrested me and took me to the Pusroor Tehsil together with the two horses, and I remained in attendance there at the Tehsil, and one horse was

sold by order and the proceeds devoted to paying for the expenses of the feed of the animals, as well as my own support. The other horse was sold by Jewund Singh and Ganeysha Singh. The latter lives at Aloomohar in the Sealkote District, and is the brother of Tekh Singh, Putwaree of Shamsha in the Goojranwalla District. I was then out of employment and went looking for work at Sikhana and Kangi, in the Sealkote District, to Doola Singh, Kooka, to look for work ; from thence to Singree in the Jummo territory to Mehr Singh, Kooka; from thence to Shahbazpore in the Goojrat District, and put up with Rooldoo Singh, Kooka, Putwaree. Here the Chowkidar arrested and took me to the police. The following are Gooroo Baba Ram Singh's Soobas:

1. Baba Burma Singh.
2. Baba Sahib Singh (always remained in personal attendance on Gooroo Ram Singh).
3. Baba Lukka Singh, ditto ditto.
4. Baba Pahara Singh, ditto ditto.
5. Baba Rajah Singh, of Trandi, in the Sealkote District, Sooba of Goojranwalla and Sealkote Districts.
6. Baba Jothah Singh, of Dhapaic, ditto ditto.
7. Baba Janyeut Singh, of Gilwallah, ditto ditto. (Is a sooba, but does not itinerate, as he is an old man).
8. Bhai Arur Singh, Ramghuria, Sooba of Amritsur District.
9. Baba Jowahir Singh, Malwai, Sooba of the Malwa.
10. Baba Soodh Singh, ditto ditto.
11. Baba Naraen Singh, Sooba of Kashee (Benares).
12. Baba Bishen Singh, Sooba of Cabul and Afghanistan.

The following is a list of the places and persons visited by Baba Burma Singh in his tours in the Goojranwalla District while I was with him, and at which he held meetings, preached, and made converts, viz.:

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| 1. Virun | Boolaka Singh, Kooka, Jat, was our host. |
| 2. Ogund | Khooshal Singh, Kooka, Tarkhan, was our host. |
| 3. Kureal | Nehal Singh, Kooka, Lumburda, ditto. |
| 4. Khara | Ganda Singh, Kooka, Lumburda, ditto. |
| 5. Guddanwalla | Jewun Singh, Kooka, Putheedar, ditto. |
| 6. Eesur Keh | Forget the name, but he was a zemindar. |
| 7. Maddar | Sawun Singh, Zamindar, Jat, Kooka, ditto. |
| 8. Choolurkaas | Amreek Singh, ditto ditto. |
| 9. Bubbur | Goolab Singh, Tarkhan, Kooka, ditto. |
| 10. Jhubber | Jewund Singh, Jat, Kooka and Chanda Singh, Sonara, Kooka, who were our hosts. |
| 11. Hindoo Chuk | Uttur Singh, Jat, Lumburda, Kooka, who was our host. |
| 12. Saesra | Shere Singh, Khuttree |
| 13. Bynka Cheema | Mussumat Premkour, Kooke, Jatnee, ditto. |
| 14. Sharun Chattha | Hookoom Singh, Utter Singh, Punjab, Jat, Kooka, Lumburdars. |
| 15. Shamsha | Tekh Singh, Kooka, Putwaree, ditto. |
| 16. Phameh Serai | Sudh Singh, Arora, Kooka, Putwaree, ditto. |
| 17. Goojranwalla Khas | Lukka Singh, Thattiar, and Bhai or Sirdar Lehna Singh, son-in-law of late Sirdar Huree Singh, Nalwa, who were our hosts. |

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| 18. Kamoky | Jewund Singh, Turkhan, Kooka. |
| 19. Ruttalee | Hem Singh Zargar, Kooka, who was our host. |
| 20. Manes | Goormukh Singh, Arora, Kooka, ditto. |
| 21. Rajah | Don't recollect. |
| 22. Thatta Manuk | Bcolaka Singh, Jat, Kooka, ditto. |
| 23. Maree Bhindian | Mussamut Jindan, Turkhanee, Kookee, ditto. |
| 24. Buddo Rutta | Deala Jat, Kooka, son-in-law of Utter Singh, Kooka, Lumburdar of Hindoo Chuk, who was our host. |
| 25. Khurk | Jowahir Singh, Jat, Kooka, ditto. |
| 26. Mulka | A well known Faqueer, Kooka, known as Baba Vaid, who was our host. |
| 27. Loondeli | Bayh Singh, Mihra, Kooka, who was our host. |
| 28. Oodch | Bhugwan Singh, Putwaree, Kooka, ditto. |
| 29. Kot Bhawanee Das | Boota Singh, Turkhan, Kooka. |
| 30. Mogul Chuk | Don't recollect. |
| 31. Chahal | A carpenter ; don't recollect his name. |
| 32. Thabal | A Jat, ditto ditto. |
| 33. Philoke | Mea Singh, Nihang, Bahangam, Kooka. |
| 34. Muttoo | Mansa Singh, Zargar, Kooka. |
| 35. Malowal | Gunda Singh, Jat, Kooka, Lumburdar. |
| 36. Dhoonee | Juggut Singh, Jat, Kooka. |

In the Sealkote District Baba Burmah Singh put up with following, viz.:

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| 1. Man | Sirdar Heera Singh, Man, Jageerdar. |
| 2. Chuk Rehan | Mussamut Bhagan, Jat, Kookee. |
| 3. Vando | Heera Singh, Putwaree, Kooka. |
| 4. Oogoo Chuk | Bhoda Singh, Jat, Kooka. |

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|------------------|---|
| 5. Sikhana | Hookoom Singh, Sahookar. |
| 6. Kala Khatai | Jewund Singh, Jat, Kooka. |
| 7. Marialoe | Vassawa Singh, Lumburdar, Kooka. |
| 8. Trandi. | Rajah Singh, Sooba. |
| 9. Gulitean | Lukka Singh, Turkhan, Kooka. |
| 10. Sarrauwalla | Goordit Singh, Arora, Kooka. |
| 11. Shah Varyan | Dewa Singh, Jat, Kooka. |
| 12. Mullianwalla | Ditto, Arora, Kooka. |
| 13. Chavinda | Mea Singh, Jat, Kooka. |
| 14. Duska | Sawun Singh, Jat, and Hookoom Singh, Sahookar (Banker), Kookas. |
| 15. Jjamkeh | A Jat woman: don't remeber name. |
| 16. Alomohar | Goordit Singh, Putwaree, Kooka, |
| 17. Bhopalwalla | Mea Singh, Jat, Kooka. |
| 18. Ghungeh | Doola Singh, ditto. |
| 19. Kunemsean | Dawa Singh, Arora, Kooka. |
| 20. Dhapaie | Baba Jothah Singh, Sooba. |
| 21. Jundoo | Jowahir Singh, Jat, Kooka. |
| 22. Charvind | Prem Singh, ditto. |
| 23. Kot Daran | Lutchmun Singh, Arora, Kooka. |

In the Jummo territory—

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| 1. Singree | Mehr Singh, Zemindar, and Sahookar, (Banker), Kooka. |
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In Goojrat District—

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| 1. Shahbazpoora | Rooldoo Singh, Putwaree, Kooka. |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|

In Shahpore District—

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|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Hurra | Teja Singh, Arora, Shop-keeper. |
| 2. Shahpore | Ditto ditto. |

In Umritsur District—

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|------------------|---|
| 1. Umritsur Khas | In the Boongeh Charnlinwalla attached to the temple with a Boongae, who has charge of the building, but whose name I don't recollect. |
| 2. Toong | Naraen Singh, Jat, Kooka. |

I don't know whether Baba Burmah Singh was arrested with Gooroo Ram Singh, or has gone away somewhere. After the row at Mallair Kotla he did not come back. At the time of the Umritsur butcher murders, Baba Burmah Singh left Umritsur four days before the massacre and went to Mouzah Ajjala in the Umritsur District about some land belonging to a Nihung Singh (Aknlee) named Mea Singh who died, and remained there four days, but I did not go with him, as he sent me to Nurd Singh at Kala Khetai. After this the Baba Sahib (Burmah Singh) came to Mandiala in the Sealkote District, then proceeded to Saensra (Goojranwalla) District, then to Kot Bhawanee Das, Saharun Chaittha, Guddanwalla, Jhubber, Vurrun, Coochurkana, and I went to my home, then from Coochurkana to Guddunwalla (Goojranwalla District), where I joined him again. We then returned to Oogoo Chuk in the Sealkote District. I heard from a Sikh at Guddunwalla (don't know his name) about the butcher murders. I don't know anything else. I have not seen Baba Burmah Singh again since I parted with him at Oogoo Chuk.

2nd May 1872.

Before me.—

JMILIER,

District Supt. of Police.

Dated the 3rd May 1872.

Endorsed by the District Superintendent of Police.

Forwarded to Colonel Hutchinson in continuation of former statements of parties acquainted with Kooka movements.

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APPENDIX—E.

No.3

[Confidential.]

No. 206, dated Lahore, the 30th April 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel GHUTCHINSON, C.S.I.,
Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, Esq. Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

IN continuation of No. 204 of yesterday's date, forwards depositions of certain persons in the *Sealkote* district regarding Sooba Burmah Singh, taken before the Assistant Commissioner.

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Statement of Mohukkumdeen, on solemn affirmation, Lumbardar of Bopalwalla.—Burmah Singh came to our village three years ago; the Kookas from the neighbouring villages came and paid him obeisance (*matha tekna*). When a Kooka was initiated, I have seen Burmah Singh take him aside and whisper in his ear. I did not hear him myself, his disciples repeated that he had promised restoration of the Khalsa raj in two or three months.

2. *Kootubdeen Lumbardar of Bairal, close to Kang.*—Burmah Singh used to visit our village frequently till the last two or three months; he used to foretell that in two or three months their raj. (the Kookas) would come. He tried to make me a convert, promising hereafter to make me a Sooba or great man in their kingdom. He said they were to collect in a corner of the kingdom at *Annundpore* and commence operations in two or three months time. He said that Ram Singh had a collection of arms in his house. He made some 27 or 28 Kookas.

3. *Deposition of Kootubdeen on solemn affirmation, Zaildar of Sumriyal.*—One day a year and a half ago I saw Burmah Singh in the neighbouring village of Kang. He collected a crowd there, he then said that the reign of the Kookas would

soon begin, they would repent if they did not join the sect. I heard this with my own ears.

4. *Deposition of Kootubdeen , Zaildar of Bopalwalla.*—Burmah Singh has not visited our village for a year; before that he visited our village three times. The Kookas used to collect in hundreds. He used to tell them that in two or three years their kingdom would be established. I heard him discourse in this way myself, and it was reported to me by others. The Kookas used to pay on their initiation.

5. *Khlass Khan on solemn affirmation.*—I am the Lumburdar of Kang. Burmah Singh used to visit our village and collect hundreds of men with the beat of drum. He said that in time he would become king; those that were lucky would join, the unlucky would not join. He asked me to join the Kookas, promising me great profit in this world when they, Kookas, were bakims. He pointed to this corner (witness points to north-west by west) by and said the proceedings would commence from there. He used to collect very large sums of money from the Kookas there, preaching Ram Singh's reign.

6. *Rooldoo, Zaildar of Mulkhanwalla, near Kang.*—Burmah Singh used to visit Kang about a year ago. I have heard him with my own ears proclaim that the Kooka raj was about to take place. He never asked me to join. He made many converts, 500 or 600, and got large sums of money for the cause.

R.H. TRAFFORD,

Assistant Commissioner.

The 19th April 1872.

—o—

No. 193, dated Lahore, the 25th April 1872.

From—Lieutenant-Colonel GHUTCHINSON, C.S.I., Inspector
General of Police, Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, Esq. Deputy Commissioner. Simla.

FORWARDS copy of a docket, dated 18th instant, from the Assistant Commissioner, *Sealkote*, together with the depositions, in original, therein alluded to, regarding the Kooka Scoba Burnah Singh.



Copy of a docket from R.W. TRAFFORD, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, dated Sealkote, the 18th April 1872.

IN accordance with instructions from the Deputy Commissioner, forwards the depositions of several persons holding respectable positions in this district who have themselves heard Burnah Singh use language clearly implying the assumption by him of temporal authority and the power to punish and reward. The depositions have been taken as literally as possible, and the manner of the deponents gave a decided impression of their veracity.

Deposition of Futeh Deen. Lumburdar of Gullotian, near Duska, on solemn affirmation.—Burnah Singh has been accustomed to visit our village for the last five or six years. He then converted Lukka Singh, a carpenter of the village, and used to put up at his house. For three years past he used to preach to crowds of people to become Kookas. Three years ago I heard him preach the restoration of the Khalsa (Raj). I have heard him cry "akal" "akal," but he would not allow Mahomedans and outsiders to approach. He came in last Assoo (November) crying out "akal" "akal." It was well known in the village that he was preaching his raj.

Deposition of Kuppeor Singh. Sikh, on solemn affirmation.—I was formerly a Kooka, made so by Ram Singh. For 1½ years, I have been living at Gullotian. He has been to

the village four times; persons used to collect to read the grunth. He (Burmah Singh) promised that the raj of Ram Singh was about to be established; he asked people to become Kookas then; they would not have the chance afterwards. This used to take place at the house of Lukka Singh. Taking children, women, and all there are about 80 Kookas in our village. I did not hear any details of any plans, nor any instructions to assemble at a particular place.

Deposition of Fazla, of Gullotian, Lumberdar, aged 69, on solemn affirmation.—Burmah Singh came to our village about once a month and used to collect crowds, saying the raj of the Gourao was about to begin, "akal" "akal". The women also were to become Kookas with the men and to wear men's (type) bathing drawers. He said that after the new raj was established those who refused then would not be allowed to join.

Deposition of Bhai Jaimal Singh, of Gullotian, Mohunt of the Sikh temple, on solemn affirmation.—The grunth is in my charge. Burmah Singh used to borrow it from me to read. After the reading of the grunth, sweetmeats were distributed. He used to say that the raj of the akal was about to begin, even the trees and shrubs would join the cause. Those who did not join the cause would be punished. Those who joined should become soobas and servants like soobas. He named Sumbut 1928 as first as the year the new reign was to begin, afterwards fixing Sumbut 1929 and Sumbut 1930. He gave them instructions to be ready to go to Bhainee some days in Magh, when he called them there. He was afraid of speaking more openly before me. I heard Burmah Singh with my own ears say that the "akal was about to take place".

"Attr., of Mullianwalla, near Duska, Lumberdar, aged 50, on solemn affirmation.—Burmah Singh used to visit our village, collect Kookas together, distribute sweetmeats. He

exhorted the land-owners and villagers to become Kookas ("to take the name," *lit*) or they would repent it, the Khalsa (raj) was about to begin. I heard these words with my own ears. This happened in Assoo last. He used to visit the village before he used to promise jagheers to those who would join. The Khalsa raj would begin in six months.

Arjun, of Gundoo Sial, Lumburda of Ala, aged some 60 years, on solemn affirmation.—Burmah Singh used to come to our village before Magh, and to tell people to take the name; in Kartik the Khalsa raj would begin; that they were about to arm themselves. About three or four hundred persons went to assemble to listen to him. He gave it to be understood that the new reign was to be established by force. I remonstrated with him; he said they had great strength. Three years ago I turned out some of these parties from the village.

Ganda, of Sahib Pream, near Duska, on solemn affirmation.—Burmah Singh came to our village five or six times; Ram Singh once. Burmah Singh said they were all to take the name then; if not, they would regret it, if they begged him afterwards with clasped hands, he would not grant them the name. He used to have drums beaten at the well and in the village, and proclaim "akal" "akal". I heard him with my own ears. Ours is a small village.

R. W. TRAFFORD.

The 18th April 1872.

*Asst.
Commissioner.*



APPENDIX—F.

No. 1

[Confidential]

No. 194, dated the 25th April 1872.

Memo. From—The Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

FORWARDS depositions of certain Lumberdars of the Ferozepore District, attested by the Magistrate, testifying to the antecedents of certain Kooka soobas,

2. Observes that these statements do not confute the general report of these men, that they were all notorious propagandists.

Deposition of Goordit Singh, son of Ghyt Singh, taken on solemn affirmation—I live in Loharah. I lived about 1 koss from Tukhlpoorah where Jowahir Singh used to live before he went to Belaspore. He used to behave very well, reading the Grunth and giving alms. He has been a sooba, I don't know how long. I never heard him use seditious language against the British Government, nor the restoration of the Khalsa. He went away. I don't know how long. I have never seen him since the murders at Raikote. I don't know how large his ilaqua was. I did not see him make any converts, but I know that he made converts.

Read to Goordit Singh in a language which he could understand, and he said it was right.

Dated 20th April 1872.

Deposition of Kurm Singh, son of Gainda Singh, of Belaspore, who, on solemn affirmation, said—I know that Jowahir Singh used to live in Belaspore. He used to give alms to the poor and to read the Grunth. He left Belaspore about the time of the murders at Raikote, and from Raikote he went on to Bhainee without coming back to Belaspore. I heard this from other people who were coming from that direction. Jowahir Singh

never used seditious language, or talked against the British Government, or of the restoration of the Khalsa before me. He was the principal sooba of all, and his conduct was unexceptionable, as he used to feed the poor. I remember his making some people Kookas : their names were Keran Singh, Jectah Singh, Sawun Singh, and others. The three men I have named are cultivators, but they read the Grunth. Puttiala, Mokutsur, Hudiayah, Bundalah were in his circle for proselytising and making Kookas. He used constantly to go out into his ilaqua to read the Grunth and to marry people. No one has been appointed sooba in his stead. He went to Raikote after the murder of the butchers. I know nothing about Mullook Singh.

Read to deponent in a language which he could understand, and he said it was right.

Dated 20th April 1872.

Deposition of Dhyan Singh, son of Bhoop Singh, of Tukhtpoorah—I live in Tukhtpoorah, and I knew Jowahir Singh when he lived in Tukhtpoorah before he went about, two years ago, to Bealspore. I don't know why he went, but he went away at his own pleasure. He was a sooba and used to convert people. I never heard him use threatening language against British Government, or make any mention of restoration of the Khalsa. I don't know when he left Belaspore. I have not seen him for the last year. I don't know what his ilaqua was, but he seemed to wander about a number of places.

Read to Dhyan Singh in a language which he could understand and he said it was right.

Dated 20th April 1872.

Deposition of Noop Singh, son of Pahloo Singh, Lumberdar of Tukhtpoorah, in the Bagha, Purana Thanna, taken before me on oath—I know this much about Jowahir Singh. He lived in my village 1½ years or 2 years ago, and he

then went off to Belaspore about $1\frac{1}{4}$ kos from my village. He went there as a sort of mohunt, and instructed people in the Grunth. He also made people into Kookas. That is all I know. He went off to Bhainee to Ram Singh, and, after that, he has disappeared. Jowahir Singh was a regular sooba. I never heard him say anything against British Government, or prophecy restoration of the Khalsa. As far as I know, he was contented with British rule. His conduct, on the whole, was well-behaved. He never made anybody a Kooka before me. He used to travel about to all parts of the country within 20 kos or thereabouts. He went about to read the Grunth, or to marry people, or to make people Kookas. He used to call Ram Singh by the name of "Sutgoor," the true teacher. He did make Kookas of Vesawah Singh and Jeeta Singh, in my presence. These men are cultivators in my village at the present time.

Certified that the above was read over to Noop Singh in a language that he could understand; and that he acknowledged it was correct.

Dated 20th April 1872.

Question.—Did Jowahir Singh go to Raikote at the time of the murder of the butchers?

Answer.—He did not go till *after* the murder of the butchers, and then he went to Raikote.

Dated 20th April 1872.

R.T.
BURNBY.

Deposition of Ram Singh, Lumberdar of Saidokhee. — I know Man Singh. He lives in my village. He is certainly a Kooka, but he is not a sooba. He was taken away by Boodh Singh, Inspector of Police, from his village. He was a man of good character. He was a Kooka himself, but was not active in making converts. I never heard him attack any caste or religion. I have never heard him use any seditious language against the

British Government, or talk about the restoration of the Khalsa. I do not know whether he took any share in the disturbance of 1869. He took no part in the Raikote affair. He went to Bhainee at the time of the Maghee fair, but returned before the disturbance at Malodh took place. I cannot say how many days before he returned. He does not live in the same part of the village that I live in. He is of the same caste as I am, but not related by blood. Man Singh had no circle or village entrusted to him. I am not aware that one hundred men were with him when he returned from Bhainee. I do not know Hookma Singh, nor Roor Singh, nor Lukha Singh. I have heard that Sirdar Mungul Singh is a Kooka, and that he gave up his property to Ram Singh.

Read to witness in a language he understood, he acknowledged that it was correct.

Dated 22nd April 1872.

Deposition of Mehtab Singh, Lumberdar of Boorg Hameera—I know Sahib Singh. He used to come occasionally to Saidhyobrey. He is a Kooka. I do not know if he is a sooba or not. I have never heard him use any seditious language against the Government. I have not seen him for more than a year. He was a quiet well-conducted man when I knew him. I am not aware that he ever tried to make converts. I know Man Singh. He is Kooka, but not sooba. He is a very quiet man. He never attempted to make converts. I have never heard him attack other sects or religions. I have never heard him use any seditious language against Government. I do not know whether he took any part in the disturbance of 1869. He took no part in the Raikote disturbance. Man Singh did not go to Bhainee at the time of the Maghee fair. No circle is in Man Singh's charge.

Read to witness in a language he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

Dated 22nd April 1872.

Deposition of Khazan Singh, Lumberdar of Bagahpoorana—I know Sirdar Mungul Singh. He accompanied Ram Singh when Ram Singh visited Bagahpoorana four years ago. He is a Kooka, but not a sooba. I have heard that he made over all his property to Ram Singh four years ago. I am not aware that he tried to make converts. I have never heard him use any seditious language against the English Government. He lives 30, kos from my village.

Jowahir Singh is a sooba, and is active in making converts. He has made one convert in my presence. I have never heard him use any seditious language against the English Government. He left Belaspore 1½ years ago. I know Man Singh; he is a Kooka, but not a sooba. He does not try to convert other people. I have never heard him use any threatening language against the English Government. He took no part in the disturbances at Mokutsur in 1869, nor in the Raikote disturbances. He did not go to Bhainee at the time of the Maghee fair.

Read to witness in a language he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

Dated 22nd April 1872.

G.

RIVAZ.

Deposition of Dyal Singh, Saidooke—I used to know Mullook Singh. He lived at Pholaywalah, but quite in a different direction to my village. I saw him 1½ years ago. I have seen him two or four times. He used to come with Bhai Ram Singh. He never used seditious language against British Government, or spoke of the restoration of the Khalsa. I know nothing as to whether he was, or was not, the man who was arrested for the disturbance in 1869.

Read to witness in a language which he could understand, and he said it was right.

I know Man Singh. He came from my village. He was not a sooba but a Kooka. He was taken away by the Government.

His character was very good. All sects were respected by him, as he was a meek (ghareeb) man, and used to salaam to all. He never used seditious language against British Government and never talked of the restoration of the Khalsa (raj-ed.). He was not concerned in the 1869 business, nor in the Ruikote, nor in the Bhainee row. I am no relation of his. I did not come to Government to petition about Man Singh's wife.

Read to witness in a language he could understand, and he said it was right.

I know nothing about Hookma Singh.

R.T. BURNEY.

Deposition of Goolab Singh, son of Boodh Singh, Resident of Saidooke—I know Mullook Singh in this way. Whenever Ram Singh came on his rounds to our villages, Mullook Singh used to come with him. He was a very great sooba, and used to have the power of making people Kookas. His ilaqua was in the direction of Mokutsur and Bungalow Fazilka. He lived himself at Pholahwalah. He was one of those arrested in the row in 1869. I never heard him use any threatening language towards the British Government, or talk of restoration of Khalsa. He used to talk of Ram Singh as the Sutgoor, or the true teacher. The Rajah of Farreedkote never allowed them to come into his territory.

Read to witness in a language which he could understand, and he said it was right.

The 20th April 1872.

R. T. BURNEY.

I know nothing about Hookma Singh.

The 22nd April 1872.

G. RIVAZ.



APPENDIX—F.

No. 2.

[Confidential.]

No. 198, dated Lahore, the 27th April 1872.

Memo. From—LIEUT-COLONEL G. HUTCHINSON,
Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

To—J. W. MACNABB, ESQ, Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

IN continuation of No. 194 of 25th instant, forwards copy of deposition by Jowahir Singh, Lumberdar of Samad Bhai, regarding the Kooka soobas, Man Singh and Jowahir Singh.

Deposition of Jowahir Singh, Lumberdar of Samad Bhai, son of Mehr Singh—I know Man Singh. Before he was arrested he used to live at Sadhuntry, which is about four kos from Samad Bhai. Man Singh is a Kooka. He is not a sooba, but he is a man of influence among the Kookas. He is very active in making converts. He has made four or five in my presence. I cannot give their names. Three were inhabitants of Sadhuntry, two lived at Adampore in the Nabha territory.

When they were made Kookas a great many people were present. On two occasions he tried to convert me. He told me that in 1928 the English rule was to end, and the Khalsa(raj-ed) re-established. Other Kookas have repeatedly said the same thing to me.

Man Singh took part in the disturbance at Mokutsur in 1869. I do not know whether he took any part in the Raikote affair. He was not present in his village at that time, but he very seldom is present there.

I have heard from many Kookas that Man Singh took part in the attack on Malodh. I do not think that he had any share in the Mallair-Kotla affair. Three or four years ago he sold all his land. The Badnee and Chowdree circles have been

entrusted to him. Man Singh returned to his village four days after the attack on Malodh.

I know Jowahir Singh. He now lives at Belaspore. He is a sooba. Choochur Chuk and many other villages are in his charge. I have on several occasions heard him also say that 1928 the English rule was to come to an end, and the Khalsa to be re-established. He used to announce this to the crowds who came to hear him, and used to say that all who were not Kookas would be then treated like dogs. I cannot say whether he took any part in disturbances at Mokutsur in 1869, or in the Raikote, or Malodh, or Mallair-Kotla affairs.

Jowahir Singh has made several converts in my presence. He has not been to his village for four or five months before the Malodh affair.

I have heard Kookas say that Jowahir Singh was to succeed Ram Singh if Ram Singh died.

Read over and explained to Jowahir Singh in a language he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

The 24th April 1872.

G RIVAZ.

APPENDIX—F.

[Confidential.]

No. 3.

No. 212, dated the 4th May 1872.

Memo. From—LIEUT.-COL. G. HUTCHINSON,
Inspector General of Police Punjab.

To—J.W. MACNABB, ESQ., Deputy Commissioner, Simla.

IN continuation of No. 208 of 1st instant, forwards, herewith, in original, depositions taken by the Magistrate at Ferozepore, testifying to the antecedents of certain Kooka soobas.

Deposition of Boodh Singh, Inspector of police, Ferozepore—I know Man Singh. He lives at Sadhokey. He was living there when I arrested him. He is not a sooba, but he is a "Sarboorah". When Ram Singh came into the district in March 1871, I was appointed to watch him. I then discovered indubitably that Man Singh was as a "Sarboorah". He had always a place near Ram Singh and used to introduce men to his notice. Man Singh is a very active Kooka. He used to collect crowds around him and exhort them to become Kookas and to prophesy that the Sikh rule would soon be re-established. I have been present on such occasions. It is generally reported in his village that Man Singh was at Bhainee. He left his village to go there about a fortnight before the Maghee fair, and he did not return till about 18 days after the affair at Mallair-Kotla and Malodh. I have heard people say that he took part in both the Malodh and Mallair-Kotla affairs.

Read over and interpreted to deponent, who acknowledges that it is correct

Dated 2nd May 1872.

Deposition of Goolab Singh, son of Gila, Lumberdar of Humiat poora—I know Man Singh. He lives at Sadhokey, which is three kos from my village. He is a Kooka. He is not a sooba, but he feasts Kookas and behaves in every respect like a sooba. He is very active in trying to make Kookas and in prophesying the re-establishment of the Sikh rule. I have once been present when he has made use of such language. I do not know whether Man Singh went to Bhainee for the Maghee fair or not. I cannot say whether he was in his village at that time or not.

Read over and interpreted to deponent, who acknowledges the above to be correct.

Dated 2nd May 1872.

Deposition of Badawar Singh, son of Bodh Singh, Lumberdar of Phullewala—I know Malook Singh. He used to live in my village, but after the disturbance which took place at Mokutsur in 1869, I turned him out of the village. He then went to Lalgir in the Bikaner territory. Malook Singh is a sooba. At the time of the Mokutsar disturbance he asked me to become a Kooka, and said that if I would, he would make me a sooba when he got his own Kingdom. I reported this at once to Dewan Bux, then Thannadar of Mokutsar. He also said that the English rule would soon come to an end, and he then would be a king. Malook Singh was very active in propagating the Kooka doctrines and in trying to make converts. He has converted some 40 or 50 before me. Malook Singh took an active part in the Mokutsur disturbance; just before then he was particularly anxious that the neighbouring Lumberdars should join him. He also collected some Rs. 8,000 of treasure. The Mokutsar circle was entrusted to him.

Dated 29th April 1872.

Deposition of Doolla Singh, son of Boota Singh, Lumberdar of Balundar—I know Malookh Singh. He used to live at Phillerwala, which is about two kos from my village.

He is a sooba. He has never said anything against the English Government in my presence. He has asked me to share his faith. He used constantly to ask people to become Kookas. He has never made a convert in my presence. He took part in the Mokutsar affair in 1869. He collected treasure. I do not know how much. About that time have heard that the surrounding villages were entrusted to Malookh Singh.

Read over and interpreted to deponent in a language he understood and acknowledged by him to be correct.

Dated 29th April 1872.

Deposition of Nadhana, son of Mehr Singh, Lumberdar of Laupoon—I know Man Singh. He lives at Sadhokey, which is seven kos from my village. He is a Kooka, but not a sooba. He is a "Sarbarah", i.e., he feeds from time to time some ten men. He is active in disseminating the Kooka doctrines, and in recommending people to become Kookas. I have never heard him use seditious language against the English Government. I have heard that he went to Bhainee for the Maghee fair, but his village is too far from mine for me to be sure on this point. He has by degrees sold nearly all his land. He began to do so some six or seven years ago.

The above read over and explained to deponent, who acknowledges that is correct.

Dated 29th April 1872.

Deposition of Sadha Singh, son of Deewan Singh, Lumberdar of Badnee—I know Man Singh. He lives at Sadhokey, which is 10 kos from my village. He is a Kooka. He is not a sooba, but a "Sarbarah." A great many Kookas are always staying with him. He is zealous in trying to make Kookas. He does not give the "bhajjan" himself, but tells them to go to Ram Singh and receive it from him. He has sold nearly all his land. I cannot say when. He went to Bhainee for the Maghee fair. He left his village shortly before. I cannot say when he returned to his village. He used to be a respectable man.

Read over and interpreted to deponent, who acknowledges that it is correct.

Dated 29th April 1872.

G RIVAZ.



APPENDIX—F.

No. 4.

Dated Ferozepore, the 6th May 1872.

MY DEAR SIR, —Sodhee Man Singh and Dewan Bux, Deputy Inspector, both say that Man Singh of Sadhokey, is the same as Man Singh who was present at the disturbance in 1870¹. Sodhee Man Singh, who lives seven kos from Sadhokey, says that Man Singh mortgaged his land and paid and fed the rioters of 1870 out of the proceeds.

I trust this is all that is required.

Yours very truly,

R.T. BURNEY.

—o—

1. 1869 A.D. — editor.

A P P E N D I X—G

21st September 1871. *Examination of Gyanee, accused. Gyanee alias Ruttun Singh, Kooka, of Mundee, age 35 years.*—
 “My name was formerly Ruttun Singh. I was a Jat Sikh, and was made a Kooka by Gooroo Ram Singh in Sumbut 1920. Before I became a Kooka, I acquired the name of Gyanee (the philosopher) from my superior attainments. Five years in Ooba, Puttiala State, one Hurnam Singh imagined that he was Gooroo Gobind Singh, and resisted the Puttiala authorities. He was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment, and I was sentenced to 18 months’ imprisonment for not having quelled the disturbance.

“I was not in the Mokutsur disturbance three years ago, when it occurred I was with the Suth Gooroo at Shorioli. He sent me to enquire the cause of it, but the Mohunt at Mokutsur abused me, and I went away in fear, and joined Ram Singh at Bhainee. I was in the Anundpore affray, in the “holee,” two years ago,¹ but was not arrested. At the Sirsa Mela last year I took a sword off my neck, and gave it to Dyal Singh to wear. The police took the sword from Dyal Singh, not from me.

“I was at the Khota Mela in March last². Ram Singh was there. One Heera Singh beat his wife, because she would not conform to Kooka customs. He cut off her hair, and carried it through the mela at the end of a bamboo. Jowahir Singh, Sooba, remonstrated with Heera Singh, who beat Jowahir Singh, and there was a row. Heera Singh had about 100 men on his side, and there were 400 on Ram Singh’s side, and Heera Singh’s men got beaten. Gooroo Ram Singh addressed us, and said—‘Why do you fight among yourselves and injure poor people. If you are men, why do you not fight with those who are powerful (*zorawur*), and who will hang you if you are defeated.’

1. Holi festival of 1870 A.D.—editor.

2. Holi festival of 1871 A.D.—editor.

"He did not tell us to kill butchers. I went to Mohra four or five days before the Raikote murder. I did not summon Ruttun Singh from Rungean to Mohra. I sent a man from Koodee to summon Narain Singh from Rungean to Mohra. I forget who this man was. He was not one of my own servants. Utter Singh is my servant. He went with me from Koodee to Mohra. I put up at the Dhurmsala at Mohra. Ruttun Singh (accused), Goordutt Singh, Jowahir Singh, and others came to pay their respects to me. I did not see Tya Singh, of Dilwa. Golab Singh was not there. There was no talk of killing butchers or collecting arms. Golab Singh (sentenced to death at Raikote) stayed with me at Koodee. I remained one day at Mohra, and went next day to Jogay. Utter Singh went with me. I sent Utter Singh away, and, after remaining two days and one night at Jogay, went first to Aklia, then to my home in Mundee, where I heard of the Raikote murders. Ruttun Singh (accused) did not come to me at Jogay. I did not give a camel to Ruttun Singh.

"There are about ten lakhs of Kooka men; only about one-third of the number wear the 'Kutch' and other outward symbols of Kookaism. The remainder are allowed by the Gcoroo to wear their former clothing, but are Kooas all the same. An order has gone out since the murder to all Kookas to deny their religion if asked; this is the reason so many have taken off the 'Kutch' and altered the form of their 'pugrees' but all are still at heart Kookas, and ready to obey the Gourou's order. I do not know who gave the order to deny being Kookas. The Mustanas among the Kookas all believe that they are soon to rule over the country. I do not know how many Mustanas there are, perhaps three or four lakhs

"Bishen Singh, Sooba, is making converts in Cabul, Narian Singh in Gwalior; Kahn Singh in Benares. Nihung Singh and Sahib Singh are told off for Nepal. Hema Singh is Sooba in Cashmere. There are members of Kookas in all the Native armies. There

are thousands in the English army. Jowahir Singh Baba has given orders that the number of Kookas in the army is not to be made known.

"Letters and messages frequently come to Ram Singh from the Rulers of Nepal and Jummo."

Above is read over to accused, who acknowledges it to be correct.

L. COWAN.



APPENDIX—II

Dated the 10th April 1872.

Demi—Official from—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J.C.P. BAILLIE.

Officiating Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore Circle.

To—LIEUT. COLONEL G. HUTCHINSON, Inspector General of Police,
Punjab.

I SENT for the chief Soobas from Bhainee to meet me at the Sanehwal Thannah, on the night of Ram Singh's deportation, and before going myself to Bhainee to disperse the Kookas assembled there. The following came at my summons.

Kahn Singh *alias* Nehung Singh.

Brahma Singh.

Paharu Singh.

Hookma Singh.

Gopal Singh.

Sujan Singh.

The two last were not named for deportation. They were very 'small fry', and were set free at Loodiana at once, I think.

On going over to Bhainee, after sending off the above-named Soobas to Loodiana, I found some 150 to 200 Kookas assembled there. Among them the following Soobas, whose names I entered at the time in my note-book:

Harsa Singh, Grunthi.

Dhurm Singh. "

Hurnam Singh, brother of Gyanee Singh.

Heera Singh, of Sadhowra.

Surmookh Singh.

Khazan Singh.

Summund Singh.

There may have been others, who did not come forward, and admit themselves as Sobas. The above are the only ones whose names I took a note of.

Later in the day Mullok Singh, Socba, whom I had sent for from the canal works, where he had a contract, was brought in. This man was one of the Soobas named for deportation.

APPENDIX—L

The Crown *versus* Futteh Singh, Bela Singh, Hakim Singh, and others.

Witness No.14, Wussawa Singh, son of Goorduit Singh, age 25 years, caste Turkhan, resident of Cheyla, occupation carpentry, on solemn affirmation.—"Some time before the butchers were murdered, I came with Mehar Singh and Jhunda Singh to Goolabene's Garden.¹ It was intended to kill the butchers. The project for that time failed, and the next morning we came to the city. We went to Futteh Singh's shop, stayed there a short time, and then went to the house of Lal Singh, where we ate our morning meal. Towards evening we went to the house of Lehna Singh, accused (No.7), a friend of Jhunda Singh; they both originally belonged to the same village. The question of the murder of the butchers was discussed, and it was decided that it should be put off till the half of the month, and Lehna Singh (No. 7) promised to collect all information necessary for carrying out the project to a successful issue. The next day I went off with Pahara Singh to the Gooroo at Bhaince. Pahara Singh reported to the Gooroo what was going on, adding that Mehar Singh and Jhunda Singh would not listen to him, but seemed bent on killing the butchers, to which Ram Singh replied that, if they would not listen, they might gang their own gait."

The accused have no questions to put.

W. DAVIES, Major,

The 29th August 1871.

Officiating Commissioner.

1. Gulab Rai's Garden. —editor.

APPENDIX—J.

The CROWN versus, 1. BHUGWAN SINGH, 2. GYAN SINGH,

3. THUMMUN SINGH, 4. MEHR SINGH.

Witness No.1 for prosecution, Surfraz Khan, occupation, Deputy Inspector of Police, Sanehwal, Ludiana District, states on solemn affirmation: "On the 11th of this month, I went to Bhaince to keep order at the fair there. The fair was over on the 12th. On the 13th, in the morning, I heard that a body of 'Mustanas' Kookas had separated themselves from the rest. The Lumberdar and Chowkeedar told me of this, and said they were up to mischief. I then went at once to Ram Singh, and said I wished to speak to him alone. He said, these people, *i.e.*, Heera Singh and Lehna Singh resident of Sebundee,¹ in Puttiala, are head of this body, and wont obey my word. I said, why, what is their intention? He gave no answer, and only said they had become Mustana. I asked him to give me a list of their names. He gave me a list of 13 men. I gave that list afterwards to the office. I have a copy here and read it: Lehna Singh, son of Mehtab Singh, Heera Singh, head, Anoop Singh, Ocdum Singh, Nund Singh of Hindya, Joga Singh, Wuryam Singh, Bhaj Singh of Mehraj, Narian Singh of Rur, Sahib Singh, Soojan Singh, Gyan Singh, and Kanh Singh of Bulherree. He said he knew no more. I asked how many men there were altogether. He said about 50 or 60. I then told Scokhoo Lumberdar, Bhugwana Chowkeedar, Kullundur Khan Sergeant to enquire how many men there were collected in the separate body at a well close to Bhaince. They reported the number to be about 100. After this I said to Ram Singh, you explain to them that they are to commit no disturbance, and send them away. He went, and putting his cloth round his head, said to them,—go to your homes and dont make a row, or it will be worse for me. They replied,—give us our food, and we will go. He fed them and they went away and Ram Singh reported

1. Sakraudea.—editor.

their departure. I then sent the Sergeant and Himun Singh to follow them and find out which way they should go. They went to Rampore Kutani in the Puttiala territory. When they reached the Puttiala territory, the Sergeant and others returned and reported the fact. I at once wrote information to the Thannadar of Dorzha. I then came to Loodiana by the evening train, and at 10 P.M. informed the District Superintendent first and then the Deputy Commissioner. I was then ordered to go to the different vakeels and inform them. There were about 1,000 Kookas at the fair; they were occupied in reading and reciting passages. But no one said anything. The Mustana gang frequently expressed their intention of going to Kolla."

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T.D. FORSYTH,

Sessions Judge, Umballa Division.

APPENDIX—K.

Extract from translation of deposition taken on the 18th July 1871, before
CAPTAIN C. BEADON, Deputy Commissioner, Umballa of
HURNAM SINGH.

DEWAN BOOTA SINGH of Lahore (press proprietor) came to Bhaince by the morning train, remained the whole day. Hamam Singh, Kooka, and Mukhun Singh, Kooka of Lahore, and ten or twelve persons (names unknown) accompanied him. *I punka Karo* (far) them. Sutt Gooroo told Dewan Boota Singh to be careful in his country and stick fast to his faith (*dhurm-par kaim raho*). In my opinion this was a hint to kill the butchers. A week after that, Umritsur butcher case took place, If Kookas committed the crime, the following must know everything, being counsellors and advisers of Sutt Gooroo, and heads of all the Kookas in Lahore and Umritsur Districts:

Roor Singh, brother of Bhai Sahib Singh, of Umritsur.

Lelna Singh, mistree of Umritsur.

Golab Singh, carpenter of Umritsur.

Lall Singh, carpenter of Tung Zillah, Umritsur.

Hurri Singh Bhatra (Heera Singh Bhatra—editor),
Beheungam¹, Kooka of Umritsur,
Mulvoi Bungah.

Gopal Singh modi of Bhaince had given me a kohari. I had told him that if Sutt Gooroo would give me order, I would also kill the butchers or do other service. Four days afterwards, Jamul Singh, lohar, Kooka of Lapon, came to Dhindsa, and seized the axe from me. Sutt Gooroo often beats me and drives me away, because I make a noise at night and make everything known publicly. I think there will be similar case in any other place. Whatever orders Sutt Gooroo gives will be carried out.

1. Without home and family.

APPENDIX—L.

Extract from statement of LEHNA SINGH, taken by COLONEL BAILLIE.

ON the first occasion when Raja Singh came to Umritsur, the Kookas of the city and some Soobas who were here were consulted. Bhugwan Singh, Bhara Singh, Hoor Singh, were all against it, and none of the city Kookas would join, though all knew of it. I knew this by hearing every one I met in the plain, of my purth; spoke to me about it.

A few days before you came to Lopokee, a Singh arrived from Bhainee to Jhunda Singh and Mehr Singh, enjoining them not to reveal that Goolab Singh had been arrested, and it was the Gooroo's order. I did not see the Sikh. Jhunda Singh told us the Gooroo had been seized for the Raikote affair, but had been made a prisoner in a tent, but at night he disappeared from view. The guards were so astounded that they declined to mount guard over him any longer; the Sahib logue then let the Gooroo go.



No. 1460, dated Simla, the 7th August 1872.

From—H.L. DAMPIER, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To—The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

THE papers connected with Mr. James Macnabb's enquiry into the cases of the Kuka Sirdars, who are now confined in the Fort at Allahabad, having been laid before His Excellency the Governor General in Council, with your letter No. 2217, dated 24th of June, I am directed to request that His Honor the Lieutenant Governor will favor His Excellency with his opinion as to whether the prisoners, or any of them should not rather be brought to trial for specific offences, than kept in confinement as political prisoners.

2. It appears to His Excellency that these men have been guilty of grave crimes against the State, and that if the evidence given in Mr. Macnabb's report can be produced in Courts, and if there are no strong political objections to a public trial which might be held in some district where there are no Kukas, there would be great advantage in bringing to ordinary way those of their number as to whose conviction there can, on the evidence, be no reasonable doubt.



No. 47, dated Simla, the 19th August 1872.

From—The Government of India.

To—Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

IN our despatch of the 15th March last, No. 17, reporting the deportation to Rangoon of Ram Singh the Kuka leader, we intimated that, before determining on the course to be pursued towards his subahs (lieutenants), we would await the result of an enquiry that we had suggested should be instituted as to the degree of guilt attaching to each of the men detained, and as to the expediency or otherwise of releasing him.

2. The enquiry was entrusted by the Punjab Government

to Mr. James Macnabb, of the Civil Service, and we now enclose, for Your Grace's information, a copy of his report, and of its appendices, together with a copy of the letter (No. 2217 dated 24th June 1872) of the Punjab Government, under cover of which those documents were received.

3. After carefully examining into the exact degree of guilt attaching to each of the eleven subahs under detertinn, and the extent of danger to be apprehended from each, Mr. Macnabb recommended the banishment for life of some, and the detertion in custody of others for periods varying from ten years to one year.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, while concurring generally in Mr. Macnabb's conclusions, did not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to the degrees of danger or guilt. His Honor considered that the release of the prisoners ought to be made to depend upon the state of feeling in the Punjab, and the previous assent of the Local Government.

5. We have carefully considered Mr. Macnabb's report, and the evidence he has collected against the prisoners. It appears to us that these men have been guilty of grave crimes against the State, and that there would be great advantage in bringing to trial on specific charges those of their number as to whose conviction there can be no reasonable doubt, instead of detaining them in confinement as political prisoners. With this view we have requested on the expression of the opinion of the Punjab Government on the subject¹ and we await the Lieutenant Governor's reply before determining upon the course to be pursued in regard to these men.

6. We report these proceedings, though they are incomplete, as we are desirous of keeping Your Grace informed of them. The result of our reference to the Punjab Government will be duly reported.

1. Letter to Punjab No. 1460, dated 7th August 1872.



One man inquiry into the cases of the Kuka Sabas was set up in accordance with the directions of the Indian Government, and James Macnabb, who had worked as Officiating Commissioner of the Ambala Division during the greater part of 1871, and had best reliable information and opinion on the position of the Kuka sect

and its leaders, was specially deputed for this purpose in March 1872 and asked to submit his report with the least possible delay. Mr. James Macnabb called for the reports and information from the District Police Superds. testifying the seditious meetings and antecedents in their respective areas and depositions of certain Lambardars, Zaildars, chowkidars and headmen of the villages concerned. These police reports and depositions contain many interesting information and are being published here for the knowledge and help of the historians and writers concerned with the Kuka history.

Jaswinder Singh



ARSEE PUBLISHERS

51 Prada Bugh, Darya Ganj,
Near Petrol Pump, New Delhi-110032
Phone : 23286657, 65966431
E-mail : arsee publishers@gmail.com

